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Ecclesiastical Memorials;

RELATING CHIEFLY TO

RELIGION,

AND ITS

REFORMATION,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF

KING HENRY VIII. KING EDWARD VI.

AND

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST:

WITH THE

APPENDIXES

CONTAINING

THE ORIGINAL PAPERS, RECORDS, &c.

~~~~~

*In Seven Volumes.*

BY JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

*VOLUME THE FIFTH.*

~~~~~

CONTAINING

THE CONTINUATION AND CONCLUSION

OF THE REIGN OF

QUEEN MARY THE FIRST.

~~~~~

AND ALSO THE

*APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL RECORDS, PAPERS, &c.*

REFERRING TO THE REIGN OF

KING HENRY VIII.

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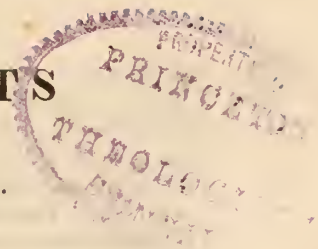
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MDCCCXVI.



THE  
**C O N T E N T S**  
 OF THE  
 FIFTH VOLUME.



THE SECOND PART OF  
 THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

•• *The paging in the Margin, refers the Reader to the paging of the Folio Edition, 1721.*

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\* \* The continuation of the Original Records, &c. may be found in the succeeding Volumes.



# MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,

&c. &c. &c.

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## CHAP. XXXVII.

Commissions ecclesiastical; and visitations by the new archbishop's order. Presentments. Rectories and vicarages vacant.

AND now we shall take some view of the ecclesiastical proceedings, chiefly under the influence and direction of the new archbishop. 1556.

Commissions went out this year from King Philip and Queen Mary, throughout most of the dioceses, if not all, for a diligent search and discovery of heretics. The first commission of this sort seemeth to have been that for the diocese of Canterbury, dated April 26, in the second and third years of the king and queen. The commission begins with these words: "Forasmuch as divers devilish and clamorous," &c. The commissioners were, Henry Lord Aburgavenny, George Lord Cobham; Tho. Cheny, Knt. Warden of the Five Ports, and Treasurer of the Household; John Baker, Knt. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Richard Thornden, Suffragan of Dover; David Pole, clerk, Chancellor for the most Reverend Father Pole; Nicolas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; Robert Collins, Commissary of the Diocese of Canterbury; Richard Fawcet, John Warren, clerks; Robert Southwel, Knt.; Thomas Moyl, Henry Chrispe, Knts.; William Roper, John Tuck, George Clark, William Oxenden, Cyriac Pettit, John Web, John Driland, Esqrs.: to them, or any three of them.

Commissions for search of heretics. Registr. Card. Poli.



1556. But lest any exception might be taken to these commissions, as though the king and queen usurped upon the ecclesiastical power, therefore, in the conclusion thereof, were these words added:

“And furthermore, We will, and our intent and meaning is, that the trial, judgment, and determination of heresy, and of all other things, which, as well in respect of persons, as of the matters herein expressed, being mere spiritual, and determinable by the ecclesiastical laws, shall be referred unto the determination of such, to whom in that case it shall of right appertain. For we do hereby declare, that it is not our intent, or meaning, that this our commission, or such other like, heretofore graunted and addressed into all other diocesses of this our said realm, should in any wise be prejudicial to any laws or persons ecclesiastical, or to the liberties or jurisdictions of the same; but that we will, as we are bound, and chiefly being thereunto required, extend and impart our kingly aid, help, and favour, in the advancement and execution of the same, in all things, which to the office and duty of catholic princes appertain. In witness whereof,” &c.

p. 290.

Such a commission was also granted to the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Ely, and to divers other dioceses, February 8, in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary; which commission may be found at full length in the History of the Reformation, but it wants those words just above cited, extant in the commission for Canterbury diocese.

Collect.  
p. 311.

The arch-  
bishop's  
commis-  
sions and  
visitations.

The new archbishop soon fell upon his work of constituting officers, and exercising visitations.—March 27, he gave commission to David Pole, LL.D. to be his vicar-general in spirituals. And another of the same date, to the same person, to be auditor of the audience of Canterbury. And another yet of the same date, to the same person, to be official of his court of Canterbury. And another, to be dean of the arches, dated March 17, 1557: the date I



suspect mistaken, for he was bishop before March 17, 1556. And besides all this favour to his namesake (but not his relation, unless basely), resolving upon an ordinary visitation of his diocese, he appointed him, being his vicar-general, to execute it; having by mandate, dated April 27, inhibited the Archdeacon Harpsfield to visit, rendering him the reason, because he intended to visit himself. He began with his cathedral church, summoning the members thereof to appear on the 18th of May, the archbishop's citation for his appearance being dated April 27. 1556. Visits his church,

The names of the dean and prebendaries, at this visitation, were (according as they are set down in the Register):

|                          |                |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| Egregius Vir D. Nic.     | John Mills.    |
| Wotton, Decanus.         | Ric. Fawcet.   |
| Reverendus Pater D. Ric. | Tho. Wood.     |
| Thorneden, Dov.Epus.     | Hugh Turnbull. |
| Vice-Decanus.            | Ro. Collins.   |
| Arthur Sentleger.        | Joh. Warren.   |
| Ric. Parkhurst.          | W. Darrel.     |
| Hugh Glazier.            | Ralph Jackson. |

The six preachers were,

|                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Robert Serles.    | Thomas Burnel.    |
| Robert Hill.      | Ni. Morton.       |
| Richard Turnbull. | Robert Willanton. |

May 28 (the visitation being, as it seems, adjourned to that day), Bishop Thornden said the mass of the Holy Ghost, in the choir of the cathedral church, having on his pontificals and mitre. Then Wood, the canon, preached upon this apt text, *Vade et vide, si cuncta sint prospera inter pecora, et renuntia mihi*: "Go and see if all be well with the flocks, and bring me word again."

The cardinal also prepared articles for his diocese, to be inquired of in this his visitation, both for the clergy and the laity, and they were these: And diocese.

1556.  
p. 291.

## FOR THE PRIESTS.

Registr.  
Card. Poli.

For the  
priests.

Whether they observe the divine offices in the churches in the fitting hours, days, and times? *Item*, Enquiry to be made concerning the life and manners of the rectors, vicars, and curates? Also, whether they diligently, reverently, and duly minister the sacraments and sacramentals? Also, whether any parishioner depart this life without them, by the fault of their negligence or absence? *Item*, Whether they frequent taverns, or other places, whence infamy or scandal may arise? Also, whether they teach midwives the manner of baptizing in cases of necessity, according to the canons, and expound to them what the canons mean in such cases? Also, they shall expound the laws, which declare what, and what kind of things, ought to be done, when it happens a woman to die in child-bed; who ought not to be buried before the birth be cut off: and the counsel is, that when it happens thus, the woman's mouth be kept open; otherwise it seems *prohibitum esse spem animantis*. Also, whether they have not kept a book, wherein are writ the names and surnames of the parishioners that are reconciled? Also, whether there be any clerks, which formerly were naughtily joined with women, which as yet are not reconciled; who they are, declaring their names and their surnames, and the places of their habitations? Also, whether the Ten Commandments and Articles of Faith are recited to the people and youth by the pastors? Also, whether the priests exhibit letters of their orders, and those that are beneficed, their titles of their benefices; and if they obtain more benefices, their patents obtained? Also, whether the sacred canons be in all things observed, in matters belonging to divine worship, and to the living well, godly, happily, and christianly? Also, whether the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and our lord the pope, formerly abolished, erased, and blotted out, be restored to their ancient volumes and places? and if they are not, that

they may be done. Also, whether the whole clergy and people in the churches, in divine service, devoutly pray for the happy state of the king and queen, with commemoration of the former judgments? Whether they said the divine service in the Latin tongue? Whether they went with their crowns and beards shaven? Whether they used unlawful games, as cards and dice? Whether they kept residency and hospitality, &c. 1556.

## FOR THE LAY-MEN.

*Imprimis*, Whether they believe the articles of the Christian faith, and as far as human frailty suffereth, keep the commandments of God, and bewailing their faults, open and declare them to the priest? Whether they maintain any heresy or error contrary to the laws ecclesiastical? Whether they refuse to do reverence to the sacrament of the altar, and affirm that there is not the real, substantial body of Christ present therein? Whether they absented from church? Concerning fornicators, blasphemers, common swearers, perjured, simoniacs. Whether they had a rood in their churches of decent stature, with Mary and John, and the image of the patron of the church. Concerning necromancers. Concerning such as marry within the degrees of affinity. Whether in the time of Easter they were not confessed, nor received the body of Christ? Whether they kept any secret conventicles or lectures? Whether schools be well kept, and the school-masters be catholic men, and diligent in teaching? Whether any depraved the authority of the Bishop of Rome? Whether taverns and ale-houses be kept open upon Sundays and holy days? or whether any prophaned those days, and the like? For the laity. p. 292.

The antient hospital of Eastbridge, or Kingsbridge, in Canterbury, seems now to have been visited. It was founded by Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and called, "The Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Eastbridge." An hundred and thirty or forty years after it fell into that decay, or was so Eastbridge Hospital visited.

1556. much abused, that John Stratford, another Archbishop of Canterbury, made a novel ordination thereof, and a new charter; constituting certain laws and a form of government for it, to supply the former, which were lost. The charter is set down by Sumner. The said hospital being, it seems, gone into disorder again (besides what notice the intervening archbishops had taken of it) Archbishop Pole took cognizance of its state, and appointed for it these orders among others: "That they should be bound to receive way-faring or hurt people, and to have eight beds for men, and four for women, to remain there for one night, or more, if they were not able to depart. The master of the hospitals was charged with the burials: and was to have twenty loads of wood yearly allowed, and 26s. a-year for drink." This from the diligent and learned antiquary, Mr. Sumner, who had *East-bridge-Book*, being an old book of that hospital.

Antiq.  
Cant.  
p. 111.

Books  
taken of  
the visita-  
tion.

The matters of the whole visitation were contained in two paper books: one wherein the acts of visitation were writ; and the other, what things were found and detected. This last mentioned, when the visitation was over, was delivered to Harpsfield and Collins, by the commandment of Pole, with a commission to reform and correct them.

Other com-  
missions.

Other commissions for visitation, besides that to Dr. Pole, did the cardinal now give forth: as one, bearing date May 20, to Nicolas Harpsfield, LL. D. and Robert Collins, LL. B. to visit the deanery of Charing, Sutton and Limme. Another, bearing date June 1, to John Nowel (or Newal) Th. B. to visit the deanery of Bocking. And another, of the same date, to Thomas Packard, LL. B. to visit the deanery of South Malling, Pagham, and Terring. These were peculiars to the archbishop: but besides these commissions, he issued out others for other dioceses. A commission, dated April 15, was given forth to Edmund Stuard, LL. D. dean of the church of Winton, and Thomas Stymppe, LL. D. to visit the diocese of Winton, being now void by the death



of Bishop Gardiner. A commission, April 18, to William Binsley, LL. B. canon of the church of Peterborough, to visit the said church, upon the death of Chambers, late bishop thereof. A commission, dated September 23, to John Pope, LL. B. upon the removal of John White, Bishop of Lincoln, from thence to Winchester. And, lastly, a commission, dated October 18, to William Geffrey, LL. D. and some others, to be officials for the diocese of Sarum, void by the death of Capon, late bishop thereof. These were visiting commissions. 1556.  
p. 293.

There were yet other commissions proceeding from Pole the archbishop. One for making Robert Collins, LL. B. and canon of Canterbury, his commissary-general for Calais, and the parts adjacent, dated September 2. And February 27, a commission was signed to Richard Thorneden, Bishop of Dover, "*Ad chrismandum pueros in fronte quorumcunque subditorum, utriusque sexus nostrarum civitatis, et diocesios, &c. Nec non altaria fixa et portatilia, sive viatica, Calices, campanas, vestimenta, et talia ecclesiastica ornamenta, quæcunque benedicend,*" &c. A commission for admission of William Mowse, LL. D. Dr. Mowse for advocate of the court of Canterbury. Therein he is commended for his knowledge of letters, probity of manners, honesty of life, and many other gifts of virtue; but not, I dare say, for his constancy, turning with all winds.

It is well if the people of the diocese of Lincoln escaped a double visitation this year: for as there was a commission for it upon the translation of Bishop White, as was said above, so about Easter, before he parted with them, he visited his diocese roundly by authority and commission from the cardinal, when the king's and queen's commissioners for heresy were also abroad in the diocese, as I find mentioned in the MS. of this visitation. Lincoln  
diocese  
visited.

When this visitation was finished, a large particular thereof was sent to the cardinal. I will extract a few of the presentments; whereby may be understood

1556. in what state the nation stood as to their morals and religion, and as to their inclinations to the gospel.

Presentments in Lincoln diocese.

One presented for dealing with wizards.

A priest divorced.

One Waller was informed against for dealing with those that used magical arts; having consulted with one Atkinson, of Yardwel, in Lincolnshire, and one Tossel, of Baltisham, in Cambridgeshire, who were wizzards. He confessed, that one of them told him that he should be near hanging the next assizes at Northampton. The other told him that he should escape, but much ado, and with great difficulty. And while this cause was depending at this visitation, Waller was indeed convicted at Northampton assizes of sacrilege, and had hanged for it, but that he made an escape.

One Nix, of Caisho, a priest, was presented, who having been married and divorced, consorted with his wife after divorce: for which penance was enjoined him, both at Caisho and Bedford; and petitioning to be restored to his ministring, he was admitted.

Some were presented for not receiving the sacrament at Easter; and being cited to appear at the visitation, fled beyond seas: as namely, Anthony Meres, Esq. and one Mrs. Grantham, who was fled to the Dutchess of Suffolk beyond the seas. The Lady Anne, wife of Sir Henry Grey, having stood excommunicate a year, they intended now to take up by a *capias*.

One Thomas More burnt.

p. 294.

p. 1768.

Thomas More, being cited before the visitor at Leicester, did say, "This is my faith, that in the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, no more than if I myself should give one a piece of bread, and say, take, eat, this is my body, meaning mine own body within my doublet. Against this man they pronounced sentence, and got the writ from the king and queen *de hæretico comburendo*. And so he was burnt in Leicester in the month of June. See more of this man's condemnation in Fox's Martyrology.

Thomas Armstrong, Esq. and his wife, convicted of heresies, recanted and did their penances, bearing fagots in the cathedral of Lincoln in a procession, on a Wednesday in Easter-week, and the next Sunday, in the church of Grantham.



One in Bedford, in mockery of the rasure of priests, did shave the crown of a child under two years old. The mayor sent to the Bishop of Lincoln, being in his visitation, to know what was to be done to that person who did this thing. And he was ordered public penance in the market at Bedford.

1556.  
One shaves  
the crown  
of a child.

One Hulcock, curate of All Saints, in Huntington, administered the sacrament to several persons without auricular confession, using only a general confession in the English tongue, such as was accustomed in the time of the schism. He was cast into gaol; then enjoined public penance; and that being performed, he was discharged from ministering any more in the diocese of Lincoln, and so he departed.

One gives  
the sacra-  
ment with-  
out auricu-  
lar confes-  
sion.

Sir Oswald Butler, late rector of Woodsall, still lived with his wife. He was never ordained priest, yet ministered all the sacraments in the late schism. He did his penance.

A priest  
lives with  
his wife.

One Troughton was presented and convicted to have said, "The bells of the church be the devil's trumpets;" and again, "The evil church did ever persecute the good church, as they do now." For which words he was enjoined public recantation.

One spake  
against the  
bells.

Several in Huntington, for eating flesh in Lent without a dispensation, were cast into prison, and enjoined to carry fagots two several days.

Several eat  
flesh in  
Lent.

One Burneby, of Brampton, when the vicar of the church, on Palm-Sunday, opened the doors of the church with the staff of the cross, said in sport, "What a sport have we towards? Will our vicar run at the quintine with God Almighty?" He submitted himself, and was enjoined public penance.

One sports  
at the  
priest on  
Palm-Sun-  
day.

The vicar of Spaldwick was presented for carrying in his arms his child, which he had in wedlock in the time of the schism, to the scandal of others. He was enjoined to carry it no more, and to make a recantation in the church.

A vicar  
carries his  
child in his  
arms.

Three of St. Ive's, who had fled because of religion, now appearing, submitted themselves, and recanted the heresies which they held: and being absolved

Some that  
fled recant.

1556.

from their excommunication, were put into prison, and afterwards carried fagots.

A vicar gives the sacrament to some not confessed.

The vicar of Steukley gave the sacrament to some not confessed, and to some that desired auricular confession he denied it. He was cast into prison, and made a recantation before his parishioners.

Churches to be furnished with altars and rood-lofts.

It was enjoined to the parishioners of St. Neot's to rebuild all the altars that were before the schism in the church; and that they should set up a rood-loft with the images. And this to be done by a parish rate.

Enjoined to the parish of Brampton, to re-edify a rood-loft, and four stone crosses within that parish.

p. 295. Churches belonging to the cardinal wanting curates or reparations.

The churchwardens of Dunstable presented, that their town was populous, and that there was neither rector nor vicar perpetual among them; and that he that was hired could not preach. And that the rectory was in the disposal of the cardinal. This the visitor signified to the cardinal.

The churchwardens of Harlington presented the chancel of the church to be very ruinous, and that the rectory pertained to the cardinal.

The chancel of Salford church likewise, in great need of repair; the rectory belonging to the cardinal.

Several vicarages, the rectories whereof belonged to the cardinal, were so small, that they remained void for some years; as Litlington, Dunton, Bedford Pauli, Newport Panel.

The chancels of Potton and Eyworth, Dorney, Risley and Wutton, ruinous; the churches belonging to the cardinal. So these matters were referred to him. I suppose these churches abovesaid, in Bedfordshire, with their endowments, were given by the queen to the cardinal, for the maintenance of his dignity.

The chancel and rectory of Ampthill.

The chancel and rectory of Ampthill almost down to the ground. The rector thereof appeared, and said, "That the tithes of the greater part of the parish, and the best land thereof, were taken away from the rector, namely, the tithes of those lands which were enclosed

into King Henry's parks; as they were from the other rectors and vicars of the neighbour parishes; and that hereby they were so impoverished, that the curates could scarcely live upon them." This was again thought fit to be referred to the cardinal. 1556.

Many vicarages void, and that for some years, be-  
cause of the smallness of the livelihood. Vicarages void.

The hospital of St. Leonard's, in Bedford, and an hospital in the parish of Todington presented; the former of the yearly value of 16*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and the latter of 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* These were violated, and the fruits thereof occupied by laymen for a great while, in the time of the schism. Hospitals presented.

Newport Paynel, in Buckinghamshire, was presented for having no vicar, because the stipend was so small. The chancels of Bradwel, Olney, Irnegho, Swanbury, in the same county, ruinous. All belonging to the cardinal. More churches void, and chancels ruinous, belonging to the cardinal.

Prestwold, Kirby-Bellers, Lodington, Ulvestone, in Leicestershire, if I mistake not, had neither vicars nor rectors; and of the cardinal's patronage.

In Lincolnshire were one-and-fifty rectories appropriate, belonging to the cardinal, whereof the chancels and mansion-houses were ruinous; and four-and-twenty more belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln, the chancels and mansion-houses whereof wanted reparations; and four-and-twenty more rectories, belonging to other persons, in the same condition. So that there were a matter of an hundred chancels and rectors' houses, besides vicarages and their chancels, in Lincolnshire, now in ruinous cases.

One Otby married Jane Missenden, a nun; she was separated and divorced by the bishop, *a mensa et a thoro, from his bed and his board.* Two others of Gainsborough married two other nuns; and these were divorced also by the bishop. Some marry nuns.

Two at Boston ate flesh against the law of the catholic church, and were put to penance of carrying a quarter of lamb about the market of Boston, bare-legged and bare-headed. p. 296. Some eat flesh in Lent.

1556.  
Fornica-  
tion pre-  
sented.

A man and woman of Lincoln were presented for fornication. The bishop set her this punishment, that the said woman should ride through the city and market in a cart, and be rung out with basins.

Injunc-  
tions and  
articles.

No. LI.

Many other presentments and detections there were, too long to be here inserted. The whole sum of them, together with the Bishop of Lincoln's injunctions to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, and certain articles of inquiry to be administered this visitation, are cast into the Catalogue, which will have this benefit, that whoso peruseth them may see what extraordinary diligence was used to suppress the religion that had spread in these parts; how roundly they exercised discipline, even upon persons of the best rank and quality; how grateful to the clergy the liberty of marriage was, which was granted in the last reign; appearing hence, that so many married priests were every where met with in this visitation, and how loth they were, even after their forced divorces, to relinquish their wives: also in what miserable state the church was, and in what deplorable ignorance the poor people lay, while such abundance of parish churches were wholly void of ministers, and so many chancels and houses for them ready to drop down; and not a few of these churches, whose emoluments accrued to the cardinal, and were under his patronage; a thing that reflected surely not a little blame upon him: how extraordinary rife adulteries and fornications were, so many men and women doing penance therefore; and other matters may here be observed, not unworthy the observation of such as would take cognizance of these times.

P. Paul's  
Bull.  
Regist.  
Car. Pol.

The archbishop and cardinal, April 28, sent to Bonner, Bishop of London, to give notice, through the province, of a bull of Pope Paul, dated the 11th of March, in the first year of his pontiff, exhorting all Christians to pray for peace between Christian princes; and granting all penitents, that confessed their sins and took the sacrament, the full remission of them.



1556.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

p. 297.

Occurrences in the state in the months of April, May, June, and July, briefly noted. A conspiracy. Scotch matters.

**W**HAT occurred in the beginning of this fourth year of the queen, we may learn by this diary following :

A plot being now in hand, and several concerned in it seized and taken into custody, the rest were scattered and fled. Therefore, April 4, a proclamation was made through London against certain gentlemen as traitors, that were fled over the sea. The first was Harry Dudley, and these persons following, Christopher Ashton the elder, and Christopher Ashton the younger, Francis Horsey and Edward Horsey, Edward Cornwall, alias Corewel, Richard and Nicolas Tremain, Richard Rith, and Roger Reynolds, John Dale, John Caltham, Hammond, Meverel, and divers others.

April.  
A proclamation  
against  
certain  
traitors.

April 15. At Greenwich was a nomination of certain new bishops ; as Dr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, to succeed at Winchester ; Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, to be Bishop of Lincoln (for now there was, or was to be, an abbot there instead of a dean, and so the dean was to be provided for otherwise) and the Dean of Durham to be Bishop of Carlisle. But Oglethorp, the Dean of Windsor, was, at last, put into the see, and the said deanery of Windsor fell unto Dr. Weston. And the Dean of Durham, Dr. Thomas Watson, was preferred to Lincoln ; but not before August the next year. The temporalities of that see being bestowed, as it seems, upon Pole.

New bi-  
shops.

April 21. Were Throgmorton and Woodall, or Udal, Captain of the Isle of Wight, arraigned at the sessions-house, in Southwark, for a conspiracy against the queen and other matters, and cast to be drawn and quartered. The accusers were Rosse, Bedyl and

Two cast  
for treason.

1536. Dethick, who were of the party; and on the 28th day they were executed. The accusation was a purpose of robbing the exchequer, and making a rebellion.

Twelve  
persons to  
be burnt.

The 24th. Six persons were carried, betimes in the morning, to Smithfield, to be burnt; all Essex men, and two of them, Drakes and Tims, ministers; and six more into the country, to be burnt there: most of these of Colchester, where they were burnt.

Ld. cham-  
berlain  
buried.

On the 25th day, Sir John Gage, lord chamberlain to the queen, was buried.

On the 29th, were brought to the Tower several gentlemen of the West, for treason, viz. Sir William Courtnay, Sir John Perrot, Sir John Pollard, Sir Nic. Arnold (who was in Wyat's plot, and pardoned) Sir John Chichester, and divers others.

Abusive  
interludes.

In this month of April also, came a letter from the privy council, dated the 30th day, to the lord president of the North, to forbid interludes played in those parts, exposing the king and queen and Roman religion. Some of these players were the servants of Sir Francis Leke, and wore his badge; who was therefore required to seek for them, and send them unto the council in the North. And all justices in those quarters were required to take up such persons, and to punish them as vagabonds. The council's letter may be read in the Catalogue.

p. 298.

No. LII.

May.  
Two men  
executed.

May the 7th. Harry Peckham, a son of Sir Edm. Peckham, and John Daniel, were arraigned at Guildhall, and cast, and sentenced to die the death of traitors, by hanging, drawing and quartering. But not executed till July the 7th, when they were hanged on a gallows on Tower-hill, then cut down and headed, and their heads carried to London Bridge, and set up there, and their bodies buried at All Hallows, Barking.

A servant  
of the  
queen's set  
in the pil-  
lory.

May the 9th. One Leyke, an auditor of the queen's, wore a paper round about Westminster Hall, and after was set in the pillory. His crime was for deceiving the queen of her receipts; for this man had received certain sums of money from the queen's te-



nants (for which the tenants had their acquittances under his hand) and afterwards he avowed he had received none. 1556.

May the 11th. The Lord Paget having been sent to the king, had his passport signed by him, to return into England. Ld. Paget.

On the 12th day, was Captain William Staunton arraigned at Guildhall, cast, and sentenced to be drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, for a conspiracy against the king and queen, and for other matters; and accordingly, on the 19th day, execution was passed upon him; and his head was set on London Bridge the morrow after. Captain Staunton executed.

On the 13th, Sir Richard Dobbs, skinner, late lord mayor and alderman of London, died between four and five in the morning; and on the 18th day following, was buried very magnificently after the old popish fashion, with *Dirge*, and the morrow-mass of *Requiem*, and a great dinner. Sir R. Dobbs buried.

On the 15th day, two tall men were carried in a cart from Newgate unto Stratford, Bow, to be burnt; the one blind, and the other lame; the one named Hugh Leveroke, a painter, dwelling in St. Swithin's-lane; and the other, that is the blind man, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle's. And, Two burnt at Bow:

On the 16th, between nine and ten of the clock aforenoon, were three women, who were of Essex, carried unto Smithfield, to end their lives by fire. And three at Smithfield.

On the 25th of this month of May, — West, Esq. with six or eight men in his company, were met beside Redegund, in Yorkshire, by the Lord Dacre's sons, and forty men with them, and by them slain. A barbarous practice, too common in those days. The Lord Dacre's sons committed a murder.

Now to look a little into the affairs of these northern parts, as they stood about this time.

About ploughing time, in April and May, the state were raising men for service, either against the Scots, or upon fears at home; and one Captain Drury had commission to raise certain numbers of men in Yorkshire, to serve under him. But the court procured Captain Drury raises forces in the North.

1556. hereby many enemies in those parts, by granting this commission to one that was a stranger, and withal proceeded in this work so roughly and unjustly, when as, if the queen had but sent an order to the council in the North, for the raising such a number of  
 p. 299. men, according, as it seems, was wont to be done, all would have passed with more ease and quiet to the country. But this man took away from the market and the plough, and pressed them for his soldiers; and charged many wealthy merchants, and divers good freeholders, and other husbandmen, to serve him to their undoing. And hereby it came to pass, that men refrained the markets, and neglected their tillage; and the whole country was disquieted.

Concern-  
 ing whose  
 abuses the  
 lord presi-  
 dent wrote  
 to the  
 chancellor.  
 Ex Offic.  
 Armor.

This the careful and prudent Earl of Shrewsbury, the lord president, signified privately with his own hand, to the Archbishop of York, lord chancellor; advertising him, "That this Captain Drury had more troubled the country for those few men he was to raise, then it had been for the whole former service against Scotland. Adding, how he had no respect for the town of Hull, being the sea-coast, but took men thence, that ought to have been reserved for the strength and safety of that important place, and for the supply of the shipping there; but that, beside twenty men taken from that town, he had also taken good merchants and others. That he had also pressed in the shire above three or four hundred men more than his number. And that whereas, if he would have made the justices and officers privy to his doings, he might assuredly been well furnished of his number. He sent forth light men into every part of the shire, who much abused the inhabitants; and that by bills which he took upon him to write, he commanded constables and officers to send forth such men as he named in his bill. And that he had oppressed three or four poor men in a village, who before had been much charged to the furniture of the present service, with soldiers and carriages, as their abilities would serve. And, lastly, that by other

bills of his own hand, he licensed men to depart after he had pressed them, and taken of some twenty shillings, and of others fifteen shillings, the man." 1556.

These northern people, especially the most northern of them, were at this time too barbarous and rude, and wanted the discipline of good laws; for the Marches on both the realms, as the Lord Wharton wrote to the lord president of the North, were much given to do evil; and the gentlemen in Northumberland addicted themselves to the making parties one against another, and appeared in great bands, which created the said Lord Wharton much pains to make an accord between them. There were many coiners here, who found friends and receivers in these quarters; such were the family of the Pottes, of Riddesdale, who therefore were under sureties, taken of them by Sir Thomas Darcy; but they soon after fled into Scotland.

The disorder of the northern people.

The harbouring of these and the like malefactors, and the being furnished with French soldiers that were at Jedburgh, a place upon the very borders, made the English now very jealous of the Scots; especially considering the French were in open hostility with the Spaniard, so nearly allied to England. The Scotch Queen, on the 6th of May (for what intent was not known) sent for these soldiers; and so they departed for a time from Jedburgh. This the Lord Wharton thought fit to impart to the lord president, who acquainted the court therewith; and soon after, by letters from the king and queen, the council in the North had command to order watch of beacons for the sea. The council speedily sent these letters to the Lord Wharton, warden of those Marches, who accordingly sent for the justices of the peace of the county of Northumberland, to him at the Castle of Alnwick, and gave them order in that behalf.

Apprehensions from the Scots.

p. 300.

The order for watching the beacons in the North.

May the 12th, being Thursday, was a meeting of the Scots and English, at Redingburn, for the making satisfaction of either side, for wrongs done on the borders. For the Scots was the Earl Bothwel, and

A meeting of the Scots and English upon the borders.

1556.

for the English the Lord Wharton; who sent his deputy with instructions signed with his hand for their order that day, which they shewed to the Scots. Whereupon they continued together for two days, until they had filed for the subjects of either realm one-and-twenty attemptates. Then the deputies appointed to meet at the same place, and to make deliverance the Thursday in Whitsun-week next approaching, and so to continue, until the one-and-twenty attemptates were delivered for on either side. It was there also appointed and agreed, upon the Lord Wharton's said instructions, that a day of march should also be kept at Heppeth Gait Head, on the second of June. This conclusion that meeting had, though at the beginning things looked angry. The Scots laboured to send more men than the English. For which purpose the queen sent from her the Lord Cesforth, and other gentlemen, to furnish their power. Yet they that attended the Lord Wharton's deputy made a greater power than they. And so they met, with some ceremonies; and the Scots had strange talk in their beginning; but after they proceeded to the premises.

Friendly  
letters  
from the  
Ld. Hume.

And, on the 14th of this May, the Lord Wharton received letters from the Lord Hume, tending to the good execution of the treaty with the wardenry; and Monday, the 18th, the Lord Wharton's deputies were appointed to meet him or his deputies at Coldstream; shewing themselves now more inclinable to a good understanding, than they had shewn two months before, notwithstanding their late brags, wherein they had been somewhat met withal. But now to come nearer home, and to look into the transactions and events of the month of June.

June.  
Judge  
Morgan  
buried.

June the 2d, was Sir Richard Morgan, a judge, and one of the privy council to Queen Mary, buried at St. Magnus, at Bridge Foot, with an herald at arms bearing his coat armour, and other funeral decencies; and Mr. Chancellor of London, Dr. Darbishire, preached.



The same day were arraigned at Westminster-hall, 1556.  
 three gentlemen, Mr. Rosey, Mr. Bedyl, and Mr. Three trait-  
 Dethick, for conspiring the king and queen's death; tors con-  
 and were all three cast and sentenced to be drawn, demned  
 hanged and quartered. And on the 9th day they and exe-  
 were drawn from the Tower unto Tyburn, and there cuted.  
 hanged and quartered: their members buried, but  
 their heads exalted; Rosey's on London-bridge,  
 Bedyl's over Ludgate, and Dethicks over Alders-  
 gate.

On the 8th, was a goodly procession at Whitehall A proces-  
 by the Spaniards; the hall being hung with rich sion by  
 cloth. And at the skreen there was an altar made Spaniards.  
 richly hanged with a canopy, adorned with great  
 basins and candlesticks clean gilt. In the court at  
 the four corners, were also set up as many goodly p. 301.  
 altars hanged with cloth of gold, and each had a  
 canopy embroidered. There was in the court also  
 a procession-way made, with an hundred young oaks  
 set in the ground; and on every side set hard by the  
 wall with green boughs (resembling, methinks, the  
 groves where the antient idolatry used to be com-  
 mitted). Then came the procession out of the  
 chapel, singing and playing with the regals; and after,  
 the sacrament born, and over it the richest canopy the  
 queen had, with six staves silver, born by six goodly  
 men: and about the sacrament an hundred torches  
 burning, some whereof of white wax; and at every  
 altar was singing and censing with sweet odours: all  
 the king's guard carrying partizans gilt, and after to  
 mass in the chapel, sung by Spaniards.

On the 14th, Father Sydnam, a grey friar of A friar of  
 Greenwich, preached at Trinity Church; and after Green-  
 dined with Sir Robert Oxenbridge, Knt. now, or wich prea-  
 soon after, lieutenant of the Tower. ches.

On the 15th, Mr. Leckner, or Lewknor, groom Another  
 porter unto King Edward VI. and Queen Mary, condemned  
 was arraigned at Guildhall for a new conspiracy for treason.  
 against the king and queen, and cast to suffer death.

1556. He died a prisoner within the Tower of London, and was buried there the 7th of September.

Lord Sand's  
son exe-  
cuted.

On the 18th day was a son of the Lord Sands hanged at St. Thomas of Watering, for robbing of a cart, in which were great riches, to the value of some thousands, coming from a fair at Beverly.

Two more  
cast for  
treason.

The same day was Mr. Francis Wray, together with Captain Turner, arraigned at Guildhall for the same conspiracy as was mentioned before, and cast, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

Thirteen  
burnt.

The 27th of this June, eleven men and two women, thirteen in all, most of them of Essex, rode from Newgate unto Stratford Bow, in three carts, and there at four posts were all burnt for heresy. There were present near twenty thousand people, as was thought, to see the execution: whose ends generally in coming there, and to such like excutions, were to strengthen themselves in the profession of the gospel, and to exhort and comfort those that were to die.

A meeting  
of Scotch  
and Eng-  
lish com-  
missioners.

June 28, being Sunday, was a notable meeting of commissioners, both for England and Scotland, at Ryddingburn, a place accustomed. The English practised as much as they could, to have the Scots come to a town within the English pale, but it would not be. A great company appeared on both sides, but the English were the greater number, being above two thousand persons. The commissions of both realms were read. Then it was agreed to meet at Norham Church the morrow after: and so they did. The result of which meeting was, that to Beckwith, one of the chief commissioners on the English side, the Scots offered, that they were fully minded to make redress of all attemptates done by any Scotchman to England; and they required the same of the English; and said, that they had such commandment of their queen. This was like to prove a long work; for there were above a thousand bills of attemptates within one of the Marches of England, done by the Scots: so that if the proceed-

ing should have been as the Scots proposed to do, 1556.  
it would have taken up till Michaelmas before all p. 302.  
were ended : but all this seemed but subtil play to  
amuse the English. They agreed to meet one day  
at Norham Church, in England, and another day at  
the Lady Church, in Scotland, half a mile from  
Norham.

The last day of June, William West, Esquire, Lord De la  
otherwise called the Lord De la Ware, was led from Ware con-  
the Tower unto Guildhall, and there cast for treason, demned.  
and sentenced to be drawn and quartered ; but he  
was pardoned, and was afterwards in the royal expe-  
dition against St. Quintin's.

This last of June had been set as the utmost date KingPhilip  
of expecting King Philip here in England, since he defers his  
came not with the lord privy seal, who returned from coming  
him some time before. But one Mr. Kemp came over.  
from him about the 19th or 20th of this month of  
June, with the news, that he had deferred his com-  
ing for two months longer. Whereat the queen was  
much cast down, and for several days after Kemp's  
coming, she was not in case to hear any suitors ;  
and this put her upon writing more that day, as it  
was thought, than she had done since she was queen.  
The substance of which writing, it is likely, was to  
acquaint the king with the more private state of  
matters in England, and to give him content ; whose  
delay arose from some dissatisfaction ; though it was  
pretended to be the cares of the Low Countries,  
having been resigned now to him by the emperor his  
father some time since, and now the said emperor  
being about to resign his kingdom of Spain.

But the queen being very desirous of the company The empe-  
of King Philip her husband, who had tarried in the ror writes  
Low Countries a deal longer than was expected, the to the  
emperor, to satisfy her impatience in some measure, queen, ex-  
wrote her a kind letter with his own pen, beginning, cusing K.  
" Il y a bien long temps, qui l'estat des affaires eut Philip's  
requis que moy et le roy mon fils," &c. absence.  
" That it Titus, b. ii.  
was a long time that the state of affairs had required

1556. the presence of him and the king his son ; so that neither could yet be spared. That he desired to hasten his coming over as much as possible ; but that the whole was in such terms, that without their affairs should fall into notable inconvenience, his coming was necessarily thus deferred for some longer time. He prayed her majesty therefore, most affectionately, that the cause of the king's tarrying might be agreeable to her, and that she would believe that he would hasten her enjoyment of her husband's company ; and the rather since he saw the contentment which she took in it. But he hoped that in the meantime she would satisfy herself, since this should be, if it please God, but for a little time, and all for the best : for all things otherwise were like to be left in disorder." And so concluded, assuring her, that he desired her contentment more than his own, " As he who was and would be ever, her good father, brother, cousin and ally."

Falsifying  
punished.

One William Tesmond, servant to Dockwray, proctor, for razing and falsifying of certain dispensations made by the cardinal, was this month adjudged by the Star Chamber, to have a dozen stripes at the standard in Chepe.

Earl of  
Pembroke  
made gene-  
ral  
p 303.

In this month of June, a commission was granted to the Earl of Pembroke: whereby he was made lieutenant and captain-general of an army beyond the sea for the defence of Calais, which seemed now to be in danger.

A skirmish  
between  
the Earl of  
Bothwel  
and the  
out-law  
Scots.

There were certain out-lawed Scots, called the Armstrongs, and others, who lived upon pillaging and spoiling upon the borders, with whom the Grimes, upon the English border, were secret confederates. It was resolved in Scotland to destroy these out-laws and rebels, in pursuit perhaps of the treaty now going on foot with England. So, July the 7th, the Earl of Bothwel, lieutenant of Scotland, and Dunlanrick warden of the West Marches of the same, with a great power, did ride upon the rebels of the said West Marches : and beginning at Sandy Armstrong's

JULY.



houses, set the same, with all other the rebels' houses thereabouts, on fire. But the rebels being together to wait on their doings, procured the lieutenants and wardens' company to a charge; and thereby trained them the space of three quarters of a mile, and upon the advantage espied, returned upon them. In the which was slain one Christopher Urwen of Bonshaw, a principal of the rebels, and his two sons, with divers others in peril of death. And yet nevertheless the thing so chanced in the end, that the rebels had the better; for in the same encounter they killed fourteen, and took thirty prisoners. Among whom were taken the lairds of Lowgheuver and Hempsfield, the tutor of Pencurer, and the Captain of Dunbar, the warden himself being in much danger, not only unhorsed, but also after on foot stricken down, and hardly escaped. 1556.

William Lord Dacre, warden of the Marches, bordering upon them, having intelligence before of their assembly, caused the gentlemen of those West Marches, with a part of their powers, to repair to him to Carlisle, and understanding what hour the said lieutenant, with his power, intended to burn the rebels' habitations, he sent his son, Leonard Dacre, very early in the morning, with a company of the best borderers, to the waters of Eske; as well to attend that no harm should be done to the subjects of this realm, as also to stop any the said rebels to be received or relieved here; where he tarried all the time of the skirmish, even in the sight of the same. And none of the said rebels entered, nor attempted to seek any relief within the English Marches. But the Grimes of Eske, although they were strictly commanded by the Lord Dacre, both to give their attendance upon his son, and that they should not by any ways relieve nor take part with the said rebels of Scotland, yet they came not to give their attendance according to the commandment, but the greatest part of them were in company, aiding and assisting the same out-laws in the skirmish: yea, and

The Grimes assist the out-laws.

1556. took the greatest part of the prisoners; a thing that would be sorely complained upon by the Scots.

The out-  
laws victors  
a second  
time.

The rebels, for revenge of the burning of their houses (for they had not, it seems, taken sufficient revenge yet) on the 22d of July in the morning, got together to the number of two hundred, purposing some exploit of annoyance to be done to the Earl of Bothwel, lieutenant, now returned again, and lying at Annon town. These sent sixteen horsemen, and seized twelve horses about that town. Whereupon arose a fray; and the lieutenant and his soldiers pursuing to have rescued the horse, followed too far, while they came to the rebels' ambush; who set upon them, and slew one captain of the Frenchmen, and two others, and also hurt divers to the peril of their lives, the said rebels escaping without any hurt or danger, and winning divers horses, returned home.

p. 304.

The queen  
removes to  
Eltham.

July the 21st, the queen removed from St. James in the Fields, unto Eltham, passing through the park and Whitehall, and took her barge, crossing over to Lambeth, unto my Lord Cardinal's palace: and there she took her chariot, and so rid through St. George's Fields unto Newington, and so over the fields, towards Eltham, at five of the clock afternoon. She was attended on horseback with the cardinal, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Montague, and divers other lords and knights, ladies and gentlewomen; and a conflux of people to see her grace, above ten thousand.

A white  
monk  
buried.

The 26th of July, a white monk of the Charter House, was buried at the Savoy in his monk's weed, with great light made with tapers.

Two set on  
the pillory.

On the 31st, a man and a woman stood on the pillory in Cheap, who were officers of Bridewell, for favouring the harlots that were brought thither, and conveying away sundry thence; divers of which were afterwards taken again, and brought back thither.

Several  
ladies die  
this month.

Infectious burning *fevers* raged this summer, and took away many persons of quality, as well as others; and particularly in the city of London. And

in this month of July, died three ladies of note there, viz. the Lady Seymer, wife of Sir Tho. Seymer, Knt. late lord mayor; the Lady Norwich, wife to the Lord Norwich, a judge, which lady was buried in Essex: and the Lady Broke, wife to the Lord Broke, chief baron, who was brought from Canbury to Islington Church to burial, with six long torches, and six tapers of three pounds a-piece for six women, and other lights, and a herald of arms, and other solemnities. To these I add Sir William Laxton, Knt. of the corporation of grocers, late lord mayor, living in St. Mary Aldermay parish, a man of great eminence in the city, who died the 29th of July; and was very splendidly buried the 9th of the next month in the said parish church. There was a goodly herse with five principals, and the majesty and the vallans gilded. Eight dozen of pensils, and thirteen dozen of escutcheons and an half; and a standard and four penons, and two banners of images: the house, church, and street hanged with black and arms; and a coat-armour and helmet, target and sword, mantle and crest, being a tyger's head with a columbine and the slipe. There were two great and goodly white branches, and thirty-four staff-torches, and as many mantle-freeze gowns to poor men; an hundred black gowns, mourners; Mr. Lodge, alderman, chief mourner; Mr. Machyl (the same that was sheriff last year) second mourner; Mr. Wanton third mourner, and divers others: the lord mayor, Mr. White, and all the other aldermen, in violet. Then came the women mourners and ladies, and many aldermen's wives and gentlewomen. And after *dirge* they retired from church to the place (that is, Sir William Laxton's house) to drink. Thither went also the company of grocers, and after the priests and clerks, and the heralds, and the wax-chandlers, and the painters (all which had assisted in adorning the funeral) also to drink, with many others. And on the morrow three masses were sung in prick-song, and three *Requiems*. At the mass, Mr. Archdeacon

1556.

Sir Wm.  
Laxton's  
burial.

p. 305.

1556. Harpsfield preached. After all was done at church, the company went to the place to dinner, where there was a most splendid entertainment, and there dined many worshipful men and women.

This Laxton built a free-school at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and an almshouse.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

Various matters falling out in the months of August, September, October, November, December, January, February, and part of March. The lamentable fall and end of Sir John Cheke.

August.  
Two bi-  
shops die  
in one day;  
Bp. Day,  
and Bp.  
Bell. **T**HESE sickly dying times carried off two bishops in one day, viz. the 2d of August; that is to say, Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, who was carried down honourably into the country to be buried there; and Dr. Bell, sometime Bishop of Worcester, who was buried with due respect, August 13, at Clerkenwell, with a sermon preached by Dr. Harpsfield. He was put into his coffin like a bishop, with the mitre and other *pontificalibus*. His funeral was illuminated with two white branches, two dozen of staff-torches, and four great tapers.

Two wo-  
men pillorized. August 13, a woman and her child both set on the pillory: the daughter for whoredom, and the mother for procuring her own child, and bringing her to uncleanness; a just punishment to the mother, but it wanted some further severity.

Month's  
mind for  
Sir Will.  
Laxton. August 30, was the month's mind of Sir William Laxton, who died the last month: his herse burning with wax, and the morrow-mass celebrated, and a sermon preached; and after that a great dinner; and after dinner the herse was taken down.

September.  
Phil. Denys,  
Esq., dies; September 6, was Philip Denys, Esq. buried at Barking Church, in London, a goodly man of arms, and a great juster, who was with King Henry VIII. at Tournay, in France.



And on the 15th day, another of King Hen. VIII. <sup>1556.</sup>  
 his servants, was buried at St. Peter's the Poor, <sup>And ——— Lucas, Esq.</sup>  
 named ——— Lucas, Esq. one of the masters of his  
 requests.

On the 19th, the queen having been sometime at <sup>The queen</sup>  
 Croydon, the archbishop's palace, removed unto St. <sup>removes to</sup>  
 James's, her own palace, with the lord cardinal and <sup>St. James's.</sup>  
 others attending.

A certain sort of coarse small money, called Rose-<sup>Rose-pence</sup>  
 pence, coined for the use of Ireland, in the exigence <sup>cried down.</sup>  
 of money in England, passed in London and other  
 parts of the realm; whereby the realm of Ireland  
 was the more disfurnished, and other inconveniencies  
 accrued to England, which caused the queen to have  
 this money cried down in England; which she did,  
 by a proclamation made in London, September 19,  
 the crier having the queen's seal, that Rose-pence  
 should not be taken after the cry was made, but in <sup>p. 306.</sup>  
 Ireland only to be taken for pence. But yet notwith-  
 standing, in the North parts, these pieces of money  
 still passed about; wherefore, October 8, the queen's  
 council wrote to the president and council in the  
 North, to forbid the same, and to cause the procla-  
 mation to be published there. The letter was in  
 these words:

“After our harty commendations to your good <sup>The coun-</sup>  
 lordship. The same shall understand, that the <sup>cil's letter</sup>  
 queen's majesty, considering that the Rose-pence, <sup>hereupon.</sup>  
 that went lately abroad here, were coined only for <sup>Ex. Epistol</sup>  
 the realm of Ireland, and never allowed to be current <sup>Com. Salop.</sup>  
 within the realm; and understanding nevertheless, <sup>in Office.</sup>  
 that certain greedy persons, minding more their own <sup>Armor.</sup>  
 private lucre than the common wealth of their coun- <sup>Vol. C.</sup>  
 try, have uttered divers sums of the said Rose-pence  
 here within the realm, whereby the said realm of Ire-  
 land is presently disfurnished of exchange of mony:  
 her highness, being loth her loving subjects either be  
 driven to want in Ireland, or be any longer abused in  
 England with that coin, thought it good to give them  
 warning thereof in time; and therefore caused, on

1556. Saturday the 19th of the last month, proclamation to be made at London, for the calling down of the said Rose-pence: and albeit it was then thought that this proclamation, being made in London, should have been a sufficient warning to the rest of the realm, and therefore it should not need to send the same to any other place; yet understanding now, that the common people, in sundry parts, seem to stand in doubt of the truth of this matter, We have thought meet to send the said proclamation presently unto you, praying your lordship, in case you shall perceive that the people stand not yet clear of doubt of this matter, to cause the same to be proclaimed within such places of the country, within the limits of your commission, as you shall think most convenient. And so we bid your lordship right hartily well to fare. From Saint James's, 8. Octob. 1556.

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

*Nico. Ebor. Canc.*

*Arundel.*

*Tho. Wharton.*

*Tho. Ely.*

*Jo. Bourn.*

“ Forasmuch as this proclamation that is now sent you was proclaimed here so long ago, we think it shall suffice, that you do cause the same to be set in the market-places of such towns as you shall think convenient, without any further proclaiming it.”

An uproar  
in London  
about the  
dearth.

September 21, there happened a great uproar in London about the excessive prices of victuals; as in Cheapside, Billingsgate, Leadenhall, Newgate-market, among the market-folks and mealmen: so that the mayor and the two sheriffs were fain to go into the markets, to set people at a stay, and so to mitigate matters, and there caused meal and other provisions to be sold at more reasonable prices.

p. 307.

The emperor upon the coast of England, writeth to the queen.

The emperor being dispirited, and broke much with the cares of government, and with the *gout*, which was extreme upon him, was ready to resign all his dominions unto his son, King Philip, and so in-

tended for Spain, to spend the remainder of his days in peace and retirement. In this month of September, I find him on the sea, bending his course for Spain, but put in with his fleet in a port in England, whence he wrote another kind letter to the queen; the substance whereof was, to signify his great desire to see her, being so near her, if it could possibly have been, and to excuse his son King Philip's absence, who was not yet come into England.

The emperor's letter began, *Je ne vous scaurois dire la paine, &c.* : "That he could not express the pain he felt to pass along the coasts of her realm, as he was at present arrived in one of her ports, without being able to see to her. That there could have been nothing should have hindred it, had not his own indisposition, and the inability of his limbs, been the cause; and that he could not have given her a visit without much trouble and inconvenience to herself: adding, that the season also was so far spent, that he might have lost the benefit of the time. That nothing would have been a greater pleasure to him than to have seen his son, the king, and her together. He feared much that she might lay on him the blame of his so great delay of his return, and so long absence; but, in truth, that his affairs were such, that it could not possibly be otherwise. And he trusted, that the understanding of these just causes thereof would make it a reasonable fault, and that the pain which he endured, *S'envira pour satisfaction de celle que vous donnons, et que vous nous tiendres pour de scoulpe de celle si longue demoure*; should serve to satisfy for that which he had given her, and which he offered her for the fault of so long absence. But that by the content which she should have in the king's joyful return towards her (which he knew his son would take care should be soon), she should forget all that was past." This letter he sent by the queen's admiral (who, it seems, waited upon him while he was upon the English coasts), whom he had instructed to acquaint her with the cause more particularly. It was

1556. dated September 20, and subscribed *De la main de v<sup>otre</sup> bon pere, frere et cousin*, CHARLES.

Sir Humph. Forster and Mr. Harris die. In this month, besides those mentioned before, died two other men of note, viz. Sir Humphrey Forster, buried at St. Martin's besides Charing-cross; and Mr. William Harris, a person notably rich in lands and farms, buried at Maldon (or Southminster) in Essex.

October. Sixty condemned at Oxford. In the next month, viz. October 3, being the day of the sessions at Oxford, were sixty persons condemned to die, perhaps most for treasonable practices.

Paul's Cross sermon preached by the Bp of Winton. October 18, being St. Luke's Day, Dr. White, Bishop of Winchester, preached a notable sermon at Paul's Cross.

A general delivery out of Lollard's Tower. On the 20th day, were all the heretics delivered out of Lollard's Tower, which had come out of Essex and other places; subscribing and promising in general to keep themselves good and true to God, and to the king and queen. This looks as though the state began now to be weary of burning.

Persons of note decreasing this month. In this month the fever swept away these persons of note: Sir John Champney, Knt. alderman and skinner, and late lord mayor of London, honourably carried down into Kent, and there buried; the Lord Vaux, of Northamptonshire; Sir Richard Cotton, Knt. comptroller of the household to the late King Edward VI.; Sir Henry Hobblethorn, Knt. merchant taylor of London, and merchant of the staple of Calais, and late lord mayor, buried at St. Peter's in Cornhill: Sir John Oliff, Knt. sometime chirurgeon unto King Henry VIII. and after sheriff of London; and had he lived till the next year, he had been mayor, having already for that purpose turned from the company of Chirurgeons to that of the Grocers; buried at St. Michael at Basinghall: Dr. Man, Bishop of Man, who, dying at Mr. Witherly's, merchant taylor, was buried at St. Andrew Undershaft's; he was first prior of the Charter-house at Shene, and



afterward, in King Edward's time, made Bishop of Man, and was married: Sir Bartholomew Fawl, sometime prior of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark; a man much lamented, and his funeral honoured with the fellowship of the Drapers, and among the rest, Mr. Chester, alderman and late sheriff, attending him to church: Sir John Gresham, Knt. mercer, and merchant of the staple of Calais, and merchant adventurer, late mayor and alderman of London, buried with a very pompous and expensive funeral; he gave two hundred black gowns of fine cloth; the sermon was preached by Harpsfield, and an extraordinary fish dinner, it being a fish-day, at which were admitted all that came: lastly, Mr. Lock, son of Sir William Lock, dying at his father's place in Walbroke, was honourably buried at St. Thomas of Acres, and Dr. Pendleton preached.

These burning *agues*, so fatal in London, and the parts adjoining, ran as far as the North; for with it was the Lord Dacre seized at the Castle of Carlisle, being one of the wardens of the Marches against Scotland: the effect of the distemper had in some measure crazed him, and made him unable for the queen's business, his natural rest and sleep taken away from him: in the mean time he busied himself much with devices and practices of small purpose, as once he had done before in a like *ague* at London; and yet he had a good memory and convenient consideration of things needful. This his son, Thomas Dacre, signified to the Lord President of the North, trusting, however, that his father would soon amend, and not doubting, that his office and charge should be well regarded, to the honour of the realm, and the discharge of his duty. But whether the Lord Dacre died in this fit, or recovered, I cannot tell.

The privy council, in this month of October, sent a letter and message to the king, then at Gaunt, by the hands of Dr. Martin; the import whereof was two-fold: partly relating to the Duke of Savoy, perhaps about his matching with the Lady Elizabeth,

1556.

Lord Dacre of the North, sick.

Dr. Martin carries letters from the council to King Philip.

1556. who was not inclinable thereto: the other concerning trade with the States of the Low Countries. Dr. Martin having delivered his message to the king, he sent him to the said states to treat with them; and with command, that the whole business might, with  
 p 309. all expedition be decided according to the fairest equity; and that dispatched, to return home to the privy council. The king also sent a letter at this time to the council, pleading therein for the merchants of the said states: that whereas an order was made in England, that they should not buy cloths in this realm above 4*l.* price, Philip persuaded, that considering the times, in which the price of all commodities was grown greater, and money become worse, that therefore the said merchants might buy cloth as high as the value of 6*l.*; which privilege, since it was not (as he said) denied to other strangers, “the queen, his dearest wife, would not deny to his subjects, upon his intercession.” And surely this was a sort of command.

November. We proceed to the month of November. On the  
 Horsespas 5th day whereof, as though King Philip were now  
 through coming, came through London from the said king,  
 London, forty gennets and sixteen great horses. The gennets  
 from the were mounted by the pages of honour, otherwise  
 king. called the king’s henchmen.

Condemn- On the 16th day of November, one Walker, ser-  
 ed to per- vant to the Lord Denshire, came out of the Tower  
 petual im- to be arraigned at Westminster, for carrying of letters,  
 prisonment and for keeping counsel with them that had died  
 Walker, before for treason; and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

and Smith. And on the 21st was arraigned at Guildhall, for the  
 same fault, Mr. Smith, a merchant, that is, for keep-  
 ing their counsel that were put to death; and was  
 condemned to perpetual prison.

Fecken- On the same 21st day was Dr. Feckenham, late  
 ham made Dean of St. Paul’s, put into the abbey of Westminster,  
 Dean of as abbot there, and fourteen monks more shorn.  
 Westmin- And the morrow after, the lord abbot with his con-  
 ster.

vent, went a procession after the old fashion, in their monks' weeds, in coats of black say, with two vergers carrying two silver rods in their hands : and even-song time, the vergers went through the cloisters to the abbot, and so went into the church afore the high altar, and there my lord kneeled down and his convent; and after his prayer made, was brought to the choir with the vergers, and so into his place; and presently he began the even-song, being St. Clement's even. 1556.

The 24th, being St. Katharine's Day (or rather eve) at six of the clock at night, St. Katharine went about the battlements of St. Paul's Church, accompanied with fine singing and great lights. This was St. Katharine's procession. St. Katharine's processions.

On the 25th day, the Earl of Pembroke took his barge for Calais. Pembroke goes to Calais.

On the 29th day, at Westminster Abbey, was the lord abbot stalled, and did wear a mitre. The lord cardinal was there and many bishops, and the lord treasurer, and a great company; the lord chancellor sang mass, and the abbot made the sermon. The abbot consecrated.

The day before, viz. the 28th, the Lady Elizabeth came riding through Smithfield, the Old Bailey, and Fleet-street, unto Somerset-place, with a great company of velvet coats and chains, being her grace's gentlemen; and after, a great company of her men also in red coats, guarded with a close guard of black velvet and cuts; and there, at her said place, she lodged till the 3d of December; and then removed, and took her way through Smithfield, attended as before, towards Bishop's Hatfield place. Lady Elizabeth comes to Somerset-place. p. 310.

This month was buried in the parish of St. Olave's, in Southwark, Mr. Goodyere, alderman of London, and leather-seller and merchant of the staple of Calais: also now was the Lady Williams, of Thame, her funeral, and the wife of Mr. Heys, a mercer, in Aldermanbury, buried honourably; and at her mass preached Dr. Peryn, a black friar. Such as this month deceased.

In the month of December I make these remarks.

1556. On the 5th day, being St. Nicolas-even, St. Nicolas,  
 December. that is a boy habited like a bishop in *pontificalibus*,  
 St. Nicolas. went abroad in most parts of London, singing after  
 the old fashion; and was received with many ignorant, but well-disposed people into their houses (thinking, as it seems, that it was lucky, as well as pious) and had as much good cheer, as ever was wont to be had before, at least in many places.

The Abbot of Westminster's procession. On the 6th of December, the Abbot of Westminster went a procession with his convent; before him went all the sanctuary-men with cross-keys upon their garments; and after went three for murder, one whereof was the Lord Dacre's son, of the North, who was whipped, with a sheet about him, for killing of one — West, Esq. dwelling beside the Lord Darcy; of which murder mention was made before. The second was a thief, that belonged to Mr. Comptroller's servants, who killed one Richard Eggleston, the comptroller's tailor, at the Long-Acre, on the back side of Charing-Cross. The third was a boy, who had killed a young fellow that sold papers and printed books in Westminster-Hall, with hurling of a stone, which hit him under the eye. And thus was the abbey restored to its pristine privileges.

A malefactor stabs the evidence in the court. December 16. At the sessions at Newgate, among others, were arraigned one John Boneard, and Gregory a smith, a Spaniard (or as Hollingshed saith, a Frenchman) for a robbery that they would have done upon Alexander, the keeper of Newgate; which was, by certain keys Gregory had made, to open the gaol, and let out the prisoners. This Gregory had a knife then about him, which he thrust into the man that gave evidence against them, in the sight of the judges. He was afterwards cast, and immediately a gibbet was set up at the sessions-hall, where his right hand was stricken off, and nailed upon the gibbet, and then he was hanged up, hanging all night naked: and Boneard, his fellow, was burnt in the hand.

The queen goes to the abbey to even-song. December 20. Queen Mary rid in her chariot through the park from St. James's unto the gallery;



and so she took her barge unto Westminster, and landed at the palace, and so into the abbey; where she heard even-song, together with the Lord Cardinal, the Lord Montague, and the Lord Darcy, of Essex; which last bore the sword before her grace, and the other lord bore up her train. 1556.

On the 22d she removed from St. James's through the park, and took her barge at Lambeth unto the lord cardinal's place, and there her grace dined with him, and divers of the council; and after dinner she took her journey unto Greenwich, to keep her Christmas there. Removes to Greenwich.

On the 23d, a proclamation was made through London (and so was after to be through the realm) for raising the value of testerns in the present dearth: it imported, that whatever man he were that did refuse testerns, or would not take them at the value of sixpence a-piece (though according to the intrinsic value they were not worth so much) for corn or victuals, or wares, or any other thing, he should be taken and brought before the mayor or sheriff, bailiff, justice of peace, constable or other officer; and they to lay him in prison, there to remain during the queen's and council's pleasure, and to stand, both body and goods, at her grace's disposition. p. 311. Testerns.

The same day was malt sold in Gracechurch-street market for 40s. a quarter. And the 31st day, it was sold in the same market for 44s. a quarter, and after at 46s.; and a bushel of wheat-meal for 6s.; and so it continued along the next year till harvest, when, within eight weeks, it fell from 6s. to 16d. The great dearth.

This month of December were, with state, buried the Lord Morley, in Essex; Mr. Robert Downes, master of the company of ironmongers, buried in St. Mary Cole Church, in Cheap: he had a tomb made, and in the tomb a coffin of lead; and when he was brought to the grave, his corps was taken out of the coffin of wood, in which he was carried, and put into that of lead: Sir Richard Bruton, sometime of the privy chamber to King Henry VIII. buried at Islington: Buried.

1556. and the sister of Mr. Clarentieux, who seemed to be a great woman about the queen; she was buried at the Savoy, with an herse made with two stories, and an hundred white candlesticks, and in every candlestick a great quern of half a pound of wax, together with her arms upon the herse, and other appendages of magnificence.

January.  
Strange ap-  
pearances  
of fire.

Jan. 4, at night, were certain strange fires seen by many persons in many places, near the city of London; as in Finsbury-fields, in Moor-fields, at the Windmill, and at the Dog-house, at Dame Annis Clere, and in certain gardens and other places. Some perhaps might interpret these prodigious appearances of fire, to import God's upbraiding the present cruelties of burning to death so many innocent persons.

Lady  
Chaloner  
buried.

Jan. 11. The Lady Chaloner, wife of Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the council to King Edward VI. and formerly the wife of Sir Thomas Lee, of Hogston, was buried honourably in Shore-ditch Church.

The bell-  
man.

On the 13th, in Alderman Draper's ward, commonly called Cordwainer-street Ward, began a bellman to go about all night from place to place, ringing a bell at every lane's end, and at the ward end; whose office was to give warning of fire and candle-light, and to help the poor, and pray for the dead. And this seems to be the original of the custom of bellmen in London.

Pensioners  
muster be-  
fore the  
queen.

On the 20th, at Greenwich park, the queen's pensioners mustered in bright harness, and many barbed horses. Every pensioner had three men in green coats, guarded with white; so they rode about the park, three in rank, upon horses, with spears in their hands, the colours white and green. Afore rode trumpeters, blowing; next a man of arms, bearing a standard of red and yellow; in the standard a white heart, and on the one side a black eagle with gilded legs. Between two or three of the clock they came down, and mustered before the queen at the park-gate: for there stood the queen's grace on high,

and the lord cardinal, the lord admiral, and Lord Mountague, and divers other lords and ladies. Before the pensioners rode many gentlemen on gennets and light horses; one whereof rode upon the finest mule that ever was seen; and so they rode to and fro before her majesty. Then came a tumbler and played many pretty feats, the queen and lord cardinal looking on; whereat she was observed to laugh heartily. At length the queen thanked them all for their pains, and so they departed: there were of the pensioners fifty and more, besides their men of arms; and of people above ten thousand. 1556.

Jan. 26. Commissioners from the cardinal, viz. Martin Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln; Scot, Bishop of Chester; and Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester, came to Cambridge; and after a formal process, caused the body of Martin Bucer, late the king's professor of divinity, buried in St. Mary's, to be taken up and burnt: and so also was served the body of Paul Fagius, late the king's professor of Hebrew, buried in St. Michael's Church; which was looked upon as barbarous. Martin Bucer's & P. Fagius's bodies burnt.

On the 28th, was the Lord Stourton had to the Tower, for the death of two gentlemen, father and son, basely by him and his men murdered. Lord Stourton had to the Tower.

February the 7th, Mr. Offley, the lord mayor, and divers aldermen, taking their barge, went unto the queen to Greenwich; where, after a certain time waiting, they were brought before the queen. Then she knighted the lord mayor, and Mr. William Chester, draper, one of the aldermen. February. The lord mayor and aldermen wait on the queen.

The same day was a sanctuary-man whipped afore the cross for murder. A sanctuary-man whipped.

The Emperor of Russia his ambassador, took his journey from Etonbrug (Edenburgh) towards England, the 8th of February; and left behind him in Scotland one Lewis, to solicit for the goods which he had brought with him in the English ship in which he came, which the Scots most inhumanly had purloined, being put in there by stress of weather. But being The Russian ambassador departs Scotland.

1556. gone, a great number in that realm were sorry they suffered him to depart, as the Lord Wharton wrote to the lord president, adding, that he might thank God he was escaped from their cruel covetise with his life.

Sir Wm.  
Portman,  
chief justice,  
buried.

On the 10th day, Sir William Portman, chief justice of England, was buried at St. Dunstan's in the West, with an herald of arms, and a standard of arms and penon, a coat armour, a target, a shield, and a crest, being a libbert's head, gold, with two snakes coming out of the mouth, with a cross fitché gules : a herse with four great gilt candlesticks, with four principals garnished with angels, arms, and pensils ; many mourners : and after came six judges and seven serjeants of the coif, and then all the inns of court, two and two together. And on the morrow three goodly masses sung, and a sermon made.

p. 513.  
Lord Stour-  
ton brought  
to West-  
minster.

On the 17th, the Lord Stourton came from the Tower with one of his men unto Westminster, before the council and judges ; where the evidence was declared before his own face, and he could not deny it.

His ser-  
vants ex-  
amined ;

And on the next day, four of his servants came from the Tower unto the lord privy seal's, before certain of the council ; and were there examined of the death of Mr. Argyl and his son ; and after carried back again.

And he  
and they  
condemned.

On the 26th, the Lord Stourton was arraigned at Westminster-hall, before the judges and divers of the council ; as the Lord Chief Justice Brokes, the lord steward, lord treasurer, and divers other lords and knights. It was long ere he would answer, till at last the lord chief justice stood up, and declared to him, that if he would not answer to the charge laid against him, that he was to be pressed to death by the laws of the land ; after which he made his answer, and was cast by his own words, and condemned to be hanged, together with his four men : and so to be carried to the Tower again, till they had a further commandment from the council.

On the same 26th day, Henry Earl of Sussex



(who, on the 17th, died in Chanon-row) at afternoon, 1556.  
 was buried at St. Laurence Pountney, with a goodly  
 herse, and other appendages of funeral magnificence. Earl of  
Sussex  
buried.  
 He was knight of the noble order of the garter, Vis-  
 count Fitzwater, Lord Egremont and Burnel, chief  
 justice, and justice in oyer of all the king and queen's  
 majesty's forests, parks, chases, and warrens on this  
 side Trent.

The 27th day, the Duke of Moscovy's ambassa- The Rus-  
sian am-  
bassador  
enters  
London.  
 dor entered the city of London, accompanied with  
 divers of the merchants of London, English as well  
 as strangers of all nations; who met him beyond  
 Shoreditch, in coats of velvet, and of fine cloth,  
 guarded with velvet, and with fringe of silk, and  
 chains of gold: after met him the Lord Mountacute,  
 and divers other lords, knights, and gentlemen, gor-  
 geously apparelled. Then, at Smithfield, the lord  
 mayor and the aldermen, in scarlet: the ambassador's  
 garment was of tissue, embroidered with pearls and  
 stones; his cap and his night-cap set with the same:  
 and his men in coarse cloth of gold, down to the calf  
 of the leg like gowns, and on their heads high coping  
 caps. He was conducted to Mr. Dymock's, the mer-  
 chant, his place in Fenchurch-street.

On the 2d of March, the Lord Stourton rode from March.  
Ld Stour-  
ton con-  
veyed to  
Salisbury.  
 the Tower with Sir Robert Oxenbridge, the lieu-  
 tenant, and four of his servants, with certain of the  
 guard, through London towards Salisbury, where he  
 was to be executed. The first night they lay at  
 Hounslow, the morrow after they came to Stains,  
 thence to Basingstoke, and so to Salisbury, where  
 he suffered the death he well deserved: for his and  
 his men's crimes were heinous, as shall be shewed  
 hereafter. Execution was done upon him March  
 the 6th, in the market-place; and them in the coun-  
 try near the place where the murder was done. This  
 lord made great lamentation at his death for his wil-  
 ful and impious deed.

March 5, Sir Edward Mountague, late lord chief p 514.  
Sir Edw.  
Mounta-  
gue buried,  
 justice of England, was buried in Northamptonshire,

1556. with an herse of wax, and other decencies suitable to his quality.

And Sir Oliver Leader. And on the 6th, Sir Oliver Leader, Knt. was buried in Huntingdonshire, with an herse of wax.

Lord Robt. Dudley comes from K. Philip. On the 17th, the Lord Robert Dudley, having been beyond sea with King Philip, came riding unto the queen at the court at Greenwich with letters: and after him Mr. Kemp, of the privy chamber, importing, that the king would be at Calais the 17th day instant.

Bishop of Lincoln preaches before the queen. The same day Dr. Watson, the new bishop elect of Lincoln, preached before the queen.

Earl of Sussex month's mind. On the 18th was celebrated the month's mind of the Earl of Sussex, and his herse burning with tapers, and standing till dirge and mass done. On the morrow after it was taken down, Mr. Garter being present to see the standard, the helmet, target, coat and banner set up over him, with all things belonging thereunto.

K. Philip comes to Greenwich. On the 20th of March, the king came to Greenwich at five at night. At the same time came a ship up by the tide, and coming against the court gates, discharged sixteen pieces thrice, being very great guns, with a loud cry, *God save the king and queen*; and the next day the king and queen went through the gallery unto their closet, where they heard mass; there were two swords borne afore them; the one borne by the Lord Cobham, the other by the lord admiral: from their closet they went both to dinner together; there were present the lord chancellor, and divers other lords.

Commandment for Te Deum. The same 21st day in the afternoon, came down a commandment to the Bishop of London, that every church in London should sing *Te Deum laudamus*; and to have ringing all the while, with great praise to God for the king's safe return.

Id. mayor and aldermen meet the king and queen. Two days after, viz. the 23d, a commandment came to the city, that the king and queen intending to ride from the Tower-wharf through London, with the nobles of the realm, both lords and ladies, prepa-

ration should be made accordingly. Therefore at 1556.  
Tower-wharf the lord mayor met them with the  
sheriffs and aldermen, the mayor bearing the sword  
before the king and queen; all the corporations in  
their liveries, standing orderly along the streets,  
trumpets blowing, and other instruments playing,  
great shooting off of guns at the Tower, and the  
waits playing on the leads of St. Peter's in Cheap.

On the same day the king came to Greenwich, viz. Edward  
the 20th (whether for a good *omen*, or accidentally) the Con-  
fessor  
the body of King Edward the Confessor was, with  
the ceremony of an hundred lights, taken up in the  
same place where his shrine was, and where he laid  
when the abbey was spoiled and robbed. It was a  
goodly sight, saith my diarist, to have seen how  
reverendly he was carried from that place, with  
goodly singing, and censing, and mass sung: it was  
the abbot's intent to set up the shrine again, as soon  
as he could have it done, expecting, no question,  
great devotions to be paid there, and good presents  
made.

Many things yet remain to be related, to take a  
full prospect of this fourth year of the queen.

In this year the ingenious, learned and pious Sir p. 315.  
John Cheke, schoolmaster to the late King Edward, Cheke re-  
cant.  
and a privy counsellor to him, and all along a most  
earnest professor of the gospel, partly by the in-  
cessant importunity of others, partly by his own fear,  
made a shameful recantation, once before Cardinal  
Pole, and again before the queen and the court at  
St. James's.

He was first brought to court in King Henry VIII. His prefer-  
ment to  
his time, by Dr. Butts, that king's physician (who  
was his great patron, and whom Cheke called *his*  
*father*, and styled himself *his son*) to be tutor to the  
young prince. He was one of the greatest lights of  
learning and true goodness in the university of Cam-  
bridge; where he, by his influence, did extraordi-  
narily promote solid learning and piety; and being  
transplanted to court, was a great instrument of vindi-

1556. cating and encouraging truth and sobriety, and all human learning there, especially to the young nobility, as well as to the young prince; to whom he was an happy schoolmaster, by informing his tender youth in excellent manners, and furnishing him with learning beyond his years. He was pardoned with the rest for his tampering in Queen Jane's business, in which he was earnest, as were many other good people, out of fear of the sad times that were like to ensue, if the Lady Mary should obtain the crown of this realm; but when she came to reign, he found that this land, under a papal government, would not be for him, and therefore travelled abroad (but with leave) for the safety of his conscience. He took this opportunity to see Rome, and took Basil in his way, and saw the learned men there.

How taken,  
brought to  
the Tower,  
and dealt  
with there.

In the latter end of the year 1555, I find him at Strasburgh; for I have seen a letter of his, writ thence in the month of February, to Sir William Cecyl: from hence taking a journey in the spring, to give a visit to two of his old learned friends, the Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, who came into those parts upon public business, in his return from Brussels towards Antwerp, he, with Sir Peter Carew, his companion, by King Philip's secret commandment, was suddenly apprehended in the way by the provost marshal, bound and thrown into a cart, with his legs, arms and body tied to it, and so conveyed on shipboard, brought a prisoner into England, and clapt up, as some great malefactor, in the Tower of London; and at length was forced to acknowledge and subscribe to the popish doctrines, and recant publicly his former good profession of the gospel, there being no other way to save himself from burning. His allegations of some church writers, with his subscription to the carnal presence in the sacrament, a letter dated July 15th, to Cardinal Pole upon that subscription, and another of the same date to the queen, mentioning his present mind in religion, with which the dean of Paul's had acquainted her, with



suit to her for his liberty, I have preserved in the 1556.  
Catalogue, as I transcribed them from the originals. No. LIII.

After two long recantations were spoken by him LIV. LV.  
(so much against his conscience and will) one before  
the queen, and another before the cardinal, he was  
not yet done with, but was to perform certain pe-  
nances and satisfactions, which the said cardinal, lord  
legate, put upon him, and which he promised pub-  
licly, in his recantation, to submit to, how sore p. 316.  
soever they were, suing to be absolved and received  
into the church; and so at last he was graciously ad-  
mitted a member of the catholic church.

This pretended conversion was accompanied, in Cheke's  
this miserable gentleman, with abundance of bitter tears.  
tears secretly by himself, as well as before Dr. Feck-  
nam, the dean of St. Paul's, his ghostly father; and  
that because, as he told him, he had with Peter  
denied Christ, and therefore wept bitterly with Peter,  
as the said doctor hinted in his speech to the queen:  
but in whatever sense he and the auditors took it, it  
was surely his true meaning, that he had so foully  
denied Christ, by denying that holy and good pro-  
fession which he had so long and so earnestly stuck  
unto.

Cheke, after all this hard drudgery which they had His liberty  
made him pass through (and yet he must publicly and death.  
applaud the mercifulness of his enemies) he was still  
kept in prison, and afterwards forced to consort with  
them, and sometimes dined among them, and sat  
upon the bench with Bonner when he was trying some  
of the professors; whereby they still made a farther  
triumph of him; but at length having his liberty, he  
retired to the house of his old learned friend, Mr.  
Peter Osborn, living in the parish of St. Alban's,  
Wood-street, where he fell into exceeding melan-  
choly and trouble of mind, and, in great repentances,  
ended his miserable life within less than a year after,  
and lies buried in the church of the said parish:  
in the north chapel of the choir of which church  
there was, before the fire of London, a fair plated

1556. grave-stone, which lay upon him, with the date of his death, viz. Sept. 13, 1557, and a copy of verses; for the preserving the memory of which monument and epitaph, we are beholden to Mr. Stow. The verses were:

Survey of  
London.

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, morumq; magister,  
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.  
Non erat è multis unus, sed is omnibus unus  
Profuit, et patriæ lux erat ille suæ.  
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt  
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.

Which verses were composed by his great friend and acquaintance, the elegant Dr. Walt. Haddon.

I shall make only one remark more on this gentleman; and that is this, that it was but a little before his captivity, that he wrote a letter from Strasburgh to one, who was thought to have made some kind of compliance with the times. It was Sir William Cecyl, his dear friend and brother; wherein he did most earnestly require him to hold fast his religion, and to take heed, how he did in the least warp and strain his conscience, by any compliance for his worldly security. And yet when it came to the pinch, how unable was he to take his own counsel: so that he might say truly with the poet,

Et monitis sum minor ipse meis,

p. 517. so weak are the most resolved and best men to withstand violent temptations, when they assault them, without the mighty grace of God. This was the contemplation of Archbishop Parker, when he thought of Sir John Cheke's fall: he writing on the margin of his recantation, and letter of submission to the queen, "*HOMINES SUMUS,*" *We are but men.*

Those that are minded to know more of this worthy man, may read his life, written in the year 1705.

## CHAP. XL.

A match intended for the Lady Elizabeth. The queen writes to King Philip about it. The beginning of the traffic into Russia. A dearth. Ponet's apology.

IN this year, as near as I can lay it, King Philip being abroad, propounded to his wife Queen Mary, the Duke of Savoy for an husband to the Lady Elizabeth, her sister. It seemed to be done upon some consideration of policy; perhaps to gain the said duke, or keep him fast on his side against France, with whose king, Philip was now in hostility. This duke, the ensuing year, was the king's general at the siege of St. Quintin. The King of Sweden had lately been a suitor to this lady, by his ambassador, without acquainting the queen first with it. The said lady took hold of this absolutely to give an answer of denial, for attempting to move such a thing in such a disorderly manner; which the queen, when she was made acquainted with it, did much approve of in her sister, and signified as much to her by her keeper, Sir Thomas Pope; who at that time took occasion, by some intimation, as it seems, from the queen, to make another motion, to feel how she stood affected to the Duke of Savoy, by saying to her, that he thought few or none would believe, but that her grace could be right well contented to marry, so it were some honourable marriage offered her by the queen's highness, or by her majesty's assent. To whom she replied, "Assuring him upon her truth and fidelity, and as God should be merciful unto her, that she would not change her condition, though she were offered the greatest prince in all Europe." Which answer Pope signified unto the queen.

1556.  
K. Philip  
proposes a  
match for  
the Lady  
Elizabeth.

This, I suppose, was the cause the queen was backward to press to her the king's desire of her matching with the said duke. The king had employed some

The queen  
backward  
to it.

1556.

of his friars, and particularly Alphonsus, a Franciscan, and his confessor, to discourse with her about this marriage: but she let them know, that her conscience was not well satisfied in it, and desired it might be deferred for a little while, and thought it proper to be done by parliament; for she feared, without the consent of a parliament, in the end neither his highness, nor the realm, would be well served. Her dissatisfaction in point of conscience doth not appear whether it were, that her sister having declared so resolutely her present aversion to marriage, she could not in conscience force her now upon it; or that she could not answer it to her conscience, to undervalue her sister, in matching her to any under the quality of a crowned head. But Alphonsus (whose office it seems it was to resolve the queen's conscience in her scruple) asked her several odd questions, as, Who was king in Adam's time? And said, She was bound to make this marriage by an article of her creed; which were such obscure reasonings, that she understood them not; much less could receive satisfaction to her conscience thence, as she signified to the king in a letter, in answer to one from him; who in a grave, haughty, and not very obliging manner, "Bad her examine her own conscience, if it were conformable to truth; and that it might be obstinacy, rather than conscience; adding, that if any parliament went contrary to this request of his, he would lay the fault upon her."

p. 318.

Her letter  
to the king  
thereupon.

She, in her answer, right humbly beseeched him to appoint some person, whomsoever he pleased, to confer with her, and she would hear them with all her heart, and protested, upon her fidelity to him, that they should not find her obstinate, nor, she hoped, without reason. But she, in all lowliness, prayed him to defer this matter till his return into England, and then he should judge whether she were blameworthy or no; that otherwise, she should live in jealousy of his highness' affection, which would be worse to her than death; of which, as she wrote, she



had begun to taste already, to her great regret; and that, in her simple judgment under his highness' correction, since the Duke of Savoy would be presently in arms, and that some of her counsel and nobility were abroad with his highness, the thing could not come to the conclusion he desired, without his own presence, however well her conscience should be satisfied: therefore she prayed him, in as humble manner as was possible, for one who was his most loyal and most obedient wife (which she acknowledged herself most obliged to be) and that, above all other women, having such an husband as his highness was, not to speak of the multitude of his kingdoms, for that was not her principal foundation; that they both might make their prayers to God, and put their confidence in him, that they should live and meet together; and that the same God, who had the hearts of kings in his hands, would, she hoped, without fail, enlighten them in such sort, that the end would tend to God's glory and his content. And in this submissive strain did the queen's letter run, which may be read in the Catalogue; where it may be observed in what haughtiness King Philip carried himself towards Queen Mary, and with what profound respect and observance she behaved herself towards him; and from both one may conclude, that she had no great matter of joy in her marriage. 1536. No. LVI.

But while I weigh well the queen's letter, it may seem to relate to some more weighty affair than that proposition of marriage for the Lady Elizabeth. And if we may allow the word *marriage* in the letter to be a *jargon*, one might understand it to be a secret phrase used between the king and her for the war, which he laboured to induce her to enter into with France, with which realm, as yet, she was in league, and against her breaking with that mighty crown, tended one of the articles of marriage with the king; which probably was the cause that she in her letter so much urged her conscience, and so earnestly desired the business might be deferred, and A conjecture concerning the said letter. p. 319.

1556. referred to a parliament. But this must be left to conjecture. It is sure by this means it came about, that the queen, to her cost, proclaimed war with France.

The Russia  
Company  
incorporated.

The merchant-adventurers to Moscovy were the last year incorporated by the queen into a company, consisting of four consuls and twenty-four assistants; and Sebastian Cabota, born in Bristol, of Genoese parents, who was the chief setter-forth of the first voyage into those parts, was constituted the first governor thereof, during his life: for in the year 1553, under King Edward, many of the nobility, as namely, William Marquis of Winchester, lord high treasurer; Henry Earl of Arundel, lord steward of the household; John Earl of Bedford, lord keeper of the privy seal; William Earl of Pembroke; William Lord Howard of Effingham, with many aldermen and merchants of London, as Sir George Barnes, Sir John Gresham, Sir Andrew Judd, Sir Thomas White, Sir John York, William Garret, Anthony Husie, John Southcote, and divers others (the king also having made them a corporation), did, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, provide, rig, and tackle three ships: one named the *Edward Bonadventure*, of 160 tons, Richard Chancellor captain and pilot-general, a man of a great wit, brought up under Sir Henry Sydney, to discover, descry, and find isles, lands, territories, and dominions unknown, northwards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards; but Sir Hugh Willoughby, a most accomplished gentleman and brave soldier, was the general of the voyage, with command and authority over the rest: he went in the *Bona Esperanza* (the admiral) of 120 tons. The third ship was called the *Confidentia*, of 90 tons; a pinnace and a boat belonging to each. In this voyage Sir Hugh Willoughby was froze to death sitting in his cabin. Chancellor alone arrived safe at St. Nicholas's port, in Russia; and, travelling to the emperor's court, delivered the king's letters to him. He returned safe home, bringing along with him the

emperor's letters, dated in February, 1554, to King Edward, granting free leave of traffic in any parts of his dominions. In the year 1555, Queen Mary sent letters, dated April 1, to the said emperor or great duke, in answer to his writ the year before; and Richard Chancellor was dispatched with them upon a second voyage to Russia. 1556.

In this year, 1556, the said emperor sent his ambassador for England, named Osep (or Joseph) Napea Gregoriwich, the emperor's high officer in the town and country of Vologda. He came on board the *Edward Bonadventure*, the said Chancellor captain, in company with three other ships, viz. the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Philip and Mary*, and the *Confidentia*; but the *Bonadventure* was forced into a bay in Scotland, and there lost: the ambassador, and a few of his men, were narrowly saved; Chancellor himself most unhappily drowned. The queen sent Dr. Laurence Hussy, a civilian, and George Gilpin, into Scotland, to wait upon the ambassador in his distress, and to supply him with what he needed; and by them he was conducted into England, and brought to London, with all the state that could be, and thence to the queen with great honour. Soon after she sent the Bishop of Ely and Sir William Petre, her secretary, to treat and confer with him. The English merchants found that he was not so conformable to reason, as at first they thought he should have been; being very mistrustful, and thinking every man would beguile him; which made them afterwards to advise their factors there, that they should take heed how they had to do with the Russes, to make their bargains plain, and to set them down in writing; for that they were subtil people, and did not always speak the truth, and thought other men to be like themselves. But finally, a league was concluded, and articles of amity agreed upon. And Osep being ready to depart, May 1, next year, 1557, the Bishop of Ely and Sir William Petre, on the behalf of the king and queen, repaired to him, and with the queen's letters

The emperor of Mosco sends an ambassador into England.

p. 320.

1556. delivered him noble presents for the emperor, and gifts to himself; and so he went aboard an English ship called the *Primrose*, Anthony Jenkinson commander, then admiral of the fleet going for Russia; the *John Evangelist*, the *Ann*, and *Trinity*, being the others.

These transactions and navigations into these northern parts, may be seen more at large in Hacklitt's *Navigations*, Vol. I.

Some die  
by famine.  
Store's  
Annal.

The last year and this, the realm was afflicted with a pinching dearth of all manner of things, especially of corn, by unseasonable weather. Wheat was sold for four marks the quarter, malt for forty-four shillings the quarter, and peas at forty-six shillings and eight-pence the quarter, and beans and rye at forty shillings the quarter; insomuch that the people were fain to eat acorns for their bread, and a great number of poor people died for hunger in many places. Now also began the hot burning *fevers*, and other strange diseases, that increased more the two years following. These miseries, one of the exiles, namely Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, made to be the effect of God's anger, for the present persecution of good men, and putting out the light of the gospel. For thus he writes in a book made about these times, comparing the dearth in King Edward's days and in Queen Mary's together:

The famine  
in King  
Edward's  
days and  
Qu. Mary's  
compared.  
Exposit.  
upon Aggee

" England hath had many great droughts and dearths, both in the time of popery and the gospel; but if ye mark it well, you shall find great diversity between them. In the dearths under the gospel, it was not for want of things, that God did not send them plenteously, but through the wickedness of men, which in so great plenty and blessings of God, made a needless dearth; for farms were raised, that farmers might not foorth (afford) to sell as they were wont. Many things were gotten into few men's hands, and they would sell as they list, and not as things were worth according to charity, being content with reasonable gains. Corn was carried out of the realm,



or sold through many men's hands or it came to the markets; and every one would raise the price, and have some part of gains. Some would feed their hogs with it, or else let it be foist in their barns, and eaten with mice, rather than they would bring it to the market, to pull down the price. Men of honour and worship were become sheep-masters and graziers, tillage was turned into pasture, and towns into graunges; and all not to make things cheaper, which might have been suffered, but dearer, which was and is devilish. 1556.

“ But since the pope was restored (as he proceeded), ye have had unseasonable weather; the earth hath not brought forth her fruit, and strangers have devoured much of that which ye had. All your Latin processions and singing of gospels under bushes, nor yet your *Ora pro nobis*, can get you God's blessing, but rather encrease his anger. When were ye compelled to eat acorns for bread, but in your popery and falling from God? When was London full of gallows to bring in strangers, but in popery? When was Calais lost, but in popery? When was Boloign gotten, and the Scots vanquished so manfully, as under the gospel? But this was the greatest plague of all, and least regarded of you, that the heavenly comfort of God's word was locked up from you, and the comfortable dew of God's favour did not fall upon you; nor your earthly hearts could bring forth good fruits and works of repentance. And so the curse was fulfilled on you; as it is written, ‘ I will send an hunger ‘ into the earth; not an hunger of bread, but an hun- ‘ ger to hear the word of God; that you shall go ‘ from the East unto the West to hear it, and shall ‘ not find it.’ ”

Dr. Martin having set forth a book against priests' marriage (mentioned under the year 1554), and taking upon him, in several chapters thereof, to answer to a book, published by Dr. Ponet, or Poinet, about seven years ago, in favour of priests' marriage; the same Ponet this year published a treatise, wherein he

Ponet's  
book in  
answer to  
Martin.

1556. learnedly confuted his adversary. This was only the first part of his answer, intending shortly to publish the second. It was intituled, "An Apology, fully answering, by Scriptures and antient Doctors, a blasphemous Book, gathered by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, of late Lord Chancellor; Dr. Smith, of Oxford; Pighius, and other Papists, as by their Books appeareth; and of late set forth under the Name of Tho. Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws (as of himself he saith), against the godly Marriage of Priests. Wherein divers other Matters, which the Papists defend, be so confuted, that in Martin's Overthrow they may see their own Impudence and Confusion. By John Ponet, D. D. and Bishop of Winchester."—Then is added, that the author desired the reader would content himself with this first book, until he might have leisure to set forth the next, which should be, by God's grace, shortly; but he shortly after died, and so that book remained in MS. till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, having fallen into the hands of Archbishop Parker, he printed it, concealing the name, with certain large additions of his own.

Some account of it.

The preface to this book now set forth, began thus: "The Lord Jesus help and assist us with his holy Spirit. Where shall I first begin? or rather, where may I not begin? Both these questions have some little doubt, good reader. The number of matters, which Martin in his book (as one that would seem to know all things) taketh upon him to determine and discuss, causeth my doubting of the one; and the multitude of his slights, shifts, and shameful lies, of the other," &c. I think it not amiss to set down some extracts out of this learned book, being now, in effect, after so long a time, lost to the world.

p. 322.

He re-proves Martin for dedicating his book to the queen.

And first, whereas Martin has dedicated his book to Queen Mary, then a virgin, Ponet shewed his uncivil, rude language, unbecoming the modesty of a virgin to see or hear; reproving him for offending her ears with such ungodly and unchaste beastliness

and railing as was in that epistle : as, where he used the terms of *detestable bawdery*, of *stinking lechery*, *beastly lechery*, *common concubins*, and *common strumpets*, *lecherous* and *filthy beasts* ; his heathenish, and ruffian-like, and abominable talk, in abusing the words *carnis resurrectionem*, being an article of every Christian's faith ; with a number of such like, or more wicked terms. " O ! Lord (added he) is honesty so much decayed, that any man dare be so bold to occupy the chaste ears of a Christian creature, but chiefly of a queen, with such whorish and ethnical talk ? " Martin had been the lord of misrule's buffoon, one Christmas, in Oxon. Ponet took advantage hence to tell him sharply, " That in playing the Christmas lord's minion, in New College in Oxford, in his fool's coat, he did learn his boldness and lost his wit, and began to put off all shame and to put on all impudence." He told him moreover, " That though the queen's pleasure were, that this evil argument against the holy matrimony of priests should go abroad under her defence, that so the same, though it were an ill matter, should have as good a visor put upon it as might be, and that in such sort as the world that now is, might perceive, how by zeal she was carried to favour superstition ; yet that the posterity which should follow this age might understand, she rejoiced not in such vile and beastly spirits ; though lying (of which that book abounded) were allowed by reason of her ignorance." And for this cause he blamed those that were about the queen, saying, that this book of Martin's should not have been allowed, for avoiding rebuke, that might redound to her grace hereafter.

And whereas the title of Martin's book was, " A Confutes his calling priests' marriage no marriage. Treatise declaring and plainly proving, that the pretended Marriage of Priests and professed Persons, is no Marriage, but altogether unlawful," &c. Ponet first confuted the assertion, that it was *no marriage*. And here he called him to answer him by his law, if he had any, to this reason—where there is no mar-

1556.

riage there needs no divorce ; but the proceedings of the queen and the bishops, and of all the lawyers in England, declared, that a divorce is needful of priests' marriage, before they be again admitted to the ministry, or that the wife may marry again: *ergo*, the queen, the bishops, and all the lawyers in England, conclude the priests' marriage is a marriage. My reason, said he, stands upon this ground, *Privatio ante requirit habitum*: the taking away of a thing, presupposeth that such a thing there was; and the breaking of a knot, proveth that there was a knot in all men's judgments. And that such a divorce was needful, the lawyers themselves declare, granting that such a solemn act as matrimony is, cannot, without another solemn act, be undone again: whereof the learned lawyers were not ignorant. Secondly, if the marriage of the priests in England were no marriage, then is their divorce no divorce: for divorce supposeth a marriage; and if it be a marriage and a divorce, it followeth, that they be all God's enemies, who either move or suffer, in England, priests' wives to marry again other husbands, seeing the divorce is not for adultery. Thirdly, "If popish hereticks say, that marriage is a sacrament of the New Testament (though indeed it were instituted in Paradise before Adam's transgression), and therewith also you maintain and defend, that *sacramenta conferunt gratiam ex opere operato*; the sacraments confer grace by virtue of the work wrought; and upon that ground ye christen bells and churches, &c. But if this, being as ye term it a sacrament of the New Testament, and ministred by a minister to a priest and a maiden, be not able to make a marriage, then should not sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*, which among the papists is a great absurdity and inconvenience. And Optatus, the great, learned, antient, and holy writer, whom ye alledge as one that maketh for your purpose (and therefore can you not with honesty refuse him), saith in his sixth book against the Donatists, *Si sit invocatio nominis Dei, sanctificat et*

p. 325.



*quod pollutum esse videbatur.* Which words of Optatus by you (though in other matters) approved, shew plainly, that if the marriage of priests were a thing unclean, yet is the same, by means of the invocation of God's holy name, made clean, pure and holy. And Clemens Alexandrinus writes, *Αγιάζειται γὰρ ὁ γάμος κατὰ λόγον τελέμενος.* 1556. “Marriage is made holy, that is concluded by the ministry of God's word.” Fourthly, “It appears by the pope's own decrees, that Pope Syricius, being our extreme enemy, and one of the first that forbad the marriages of priests, speaking against the same marriages as much as he might, calleth the priests wives, *suas uxores, their own wives* :” which thing he would not have done, being their adversary, if he had taken their marriages to be no marriage. Di. 82. C. Plurimos.

And, secondly, Whereas Martin, in the title of his book, had charged these marriages to be *unlawful*, Ponet meets with him here by confronting him with councils, fathers, and acts of parliament. He shewed him, how one of the first and most ancient councils after the apostles, viz. the Nicene council, called the marriages of priests *legales nuptias, lawful marriages*. When suggestion was made, that priests should not sleep with their wives, they determined, saying, “*Legales Nuptias à modo valere volumus*; we will that lawful marriages from henceforth shall stand in force.” And Epiphanius, speaking of them that had made a vow, and afterwards turned to marriage, said, “*Melius est lapsum, &c.*; it is better for him that is fallen in his course (meaning them that cannot continue the thing that they have vowed) to take a wife openly according to the law, and so to be restored to the church again, as one that before hath done evil, as one that hath fallen, and hath been broken, and hath now need to be bound; and not daily to be inwardly wounded by secret darts, wherewith the devil continually doth assault them.” And that they were unlawful.

“Lo! here Epiphanius (saith Ponet) doth not only allow marriage of priests, and votaries before priest-

Contr. Catharos. Hær. 59.

1556. hood and vowing, but also after priesthood and vowing; and nameth the marriage done in such case *lawful*; and that marriage, after their vow so broken, is a mean to restore them again to the church, if they were fallen from it by breaking of their vow. And this place of Epiphanius answereth fully all other places of him, which by Martin and other papists be writhed to the contrary." To which he added a testimony out of St. Austin, who, he said, made a plain resolution in this matter, as well against Martin as against all the rest of the popish rout in Christendom: where speaking of them that marry after they have vowed, he saith, in plain words, "*Non ipsæ nuptiæ vel talium deinnandæ judicantur.*" That is, "The marriage even of such as marry after they have vowed are not to be condemned." And he made a good note here, how this pregnant place of St. Austin was falsified by Pighius; where, for *vel talium*, he had corruptly put in *velut malum*, whereupon the whole matter standeth. And a little after he bringeth in St. Austin, speaking thus, "*Proinde qui talium nuptias dicunt non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, non mihi videntur satis accuratè et diligenter considerare, quid dicunt,*" &c. That is, "Moreover, they who call such marriages no marriages, but rather adulteries, seem to me not closely and carefully enough to consider what they say. For by means of this inconsiderate opinion, whereby they think the marriage of such professed women as have forsaken their vow is no marriage; if they marry, there cometh no small inconvenience. Which inconvenience is this, wives be separate from their husbands, as though they were whores and not wives. And when they will restore the divorced to sole life, their husbands are compelled to be very adulterers, when their own wives, being alive, marry other husbands."

De Bono  
Viduitatis.

Controver.  
15.

Lastly, Ponet argued from a late act of parliament: "What needed an act of parliament in the first year of the queen's reign, to repeal the statute

made for priests' marriages, if priests' marriage were no marriage? And why doth that act name it the *Marriage of Priests*, and not a *pretensed* marriage, as Martin did? And, last of all, if priests' marriage be no marriage, what cause, I pray you, had the queen and the bishops to deprive the married bishops and priests of England from their benefices; they were not deprived for ignorance in God's word, neither for not doing their duty, nor for gluttoning nor swearing, nor dicing nor hunting, nor buggery nor whoredom (for these be common faults among all your priests now-a-days.) Other fault there was none known, but only that they were married. Though for the lawfulness of their marriage, besides God's plain word, and godly canons and doctors, they had the consent of the king, and supreme head, under Christ, of the church, and of this parliament and realm; and that joyned with the consent of the congregations assembled, where they were married." 1556.

Ponet also exposed these sanctimonious pretenders to a single life, by the horrible uncleannesses they were guilty of. "When a strait life (said he) is joyned with a falshood, as it is in all the pope's creatures, and other sectaries and heretics, the members of antichrist, there is nothing more perilous than straitness of life. What a lecherous life led the holy maid of Lymster, pretending her food to be nothing else but the mass-cake! as Sir Thomas More witnesseth in his Dialogue. What bawdry practised the holy, nay, the devilish, Maid of Kent, with monks, friars and priests, under colour of strait nunnish life, as appeareth partly by the act of parliament, but more largely in the book of her life. And, within this eight years (that is, about the year 1548) was there not a holy man, named Master Doctor Dr. Boord. Boord, a physician, that thrice in the week would drink nothing but water; such a proctor for the papists then as Martin the lawyer is now, who, under the colour of virginity, and wearing a shirt of hair, and hanging his shrowd and socking, or burial sheet, at

The filthiness of the pretenders to the single life.

p. 325.

Dr. Boord.

1556. his bedsfeet, and mortifying his body, and straitness of life, kept three whores at once in his chamber at Winchester, to serve not only himself, but to help his virgin-priests about in the country, as it was proved; that they might with more ease, and less pain, keep their blessed virginity? This thing is so true, and was so notoriously known, that the matter came to examination of the justices of the peace; of whom divers be yet living, as Sir John Kingsmill, Sir Henry Semar, &c. and was before them confessed; and his shrowd and shirt of hair openly shewed; and his harlots openly in the streets and great church of Winchester punished. These be known stories, which Martin and his papists cannot deny; and they know well enough themselves, that there be of the like thousands, which I omit for briefness."

Martin rebuked for his ill words of marriage,

And therefore our author rebuketh Martin, for his ill words so often flung out against the holy state of matrimony, that he could give it no praise or commendation in any kind of people, but termed it sometimes *carnal liberty*; sometimes *the basest state of life* in the church of God; sometimes that it is a let for a man to give himself wholly to God; sometimes a *colour of bawdry*; sometimes that it is a doubling, rather than a taking away, the desire of the flesh; making himself therein wiser than God, who gave it for a remedy against the lasciviousness of the flesh, as God witnessed, when he said, *Faciamus ei adjutorium, let us make Adam a helper*. And, in the leaves 121 and 122 of his book, he went about to prove by St. Paul, that all men should avoid marriage; whereby he confirmed the opinion of Montanus, Tatianus, and such other abominable heretics.

And for his slandering King Edward's preachers;

Ponet took notice of those false charges and accusations Martin laid upon the ministers of King Edward. "The new superintendency, (said Martin, meaning the gospel-bishops and preachers) in blessed King Edward the Sixth his days, taught all one doctrine with Jovinian:" which was, as Martin alleged, "Fast seldom, but marry often; for ye cannot con-



summate the work of matrimony, unless ye eat and drink delicately." But Ponet told him, that hence his ignorance appeared; for those were none of Jovinian's words, but feigned by St. Hierom, and only ironically objected to him, as agreeable to his doctrine. And then, for the vindication of the ministers and doctrine under King Edward, thus did he bespeak his antagonist: "I pray thee, Martin, how canst thou justify this was the doctrin of the preachers in England, whom thou contumeliously callest *Superintendents*? Our whole doctrin, wherein we consented, touching fasting, prayer and marriage, is plainly and fully set forth in the book of Common Prayers, the Homilies, the Catechisms, and the Articles; whereupon the whole realm concluded: if thou canst find in these books any such doctrin, then thou mayst say, that we agree with Jovinian. If thou canst not find this doctrin, then we may boldly say, that thou beylest us. Our doctrin was not kept so secret, but that it was not only preached, but also printed; and so printed, that it hath the testimony of the whole realm, and is safely enough preserved out of the hands of the proudest of you.—And touching your lyes, that ye charge us, as teachers of carnal liberty, there were sundry special homilies, which shall be a witness that thou and thy fellows be lyars, as long as thy book shall continue; yea, as long as the world shall continue; though ye slander, raile and rage, until your bellies burst in pieces: yea, and burn that book as fast as ye will (and burn them they did as many as they could get) there will be copies enough left to print a thousand in a month."

Besides all this, Ponet vindicated Martin Luther <sup>And Luther,</sup> against a common falsehood raised of him, and which Martin thrust into his book; namely, that Luther had writ in his book, "De Captivitate Babylonica: si uxor non possit, aut non vult, ancilla venito." That is, "If the wife cannot, or will not, let the maid come." Whereupon thus our author accosts Martin, "Speak again, Martin, where saith Luther <sup>Controver.</sup> 15.

1556. these words? Thou sayest, in his book *De Captiv. Babylonica*. The self same ly maketh Pighius of Luther. Take that book in thy hand, good reader, and read it over, and when thou findest there, as Martin doth report, let it be said, that I have slandered Martin: if not, conclude with me, that he is a lying witness, and one of those doctors whom St. Paul calleth ‘Pseudo-prophetas in populo, et falsos doctores, qui clam inducent sectas perniciosas.’ I assure thee, good reader, that this is a foul ly, that Martin the lyar, and Pighius his fellow, maketh of Luther: for that saying, which they alledg in Latin, as though it had been so by Luther penned, is not in all that book, where Martin most shamefully avoucheth the same to be.—I will not hide from thee, good reader, Luther’s judgment in that book concerning that matter. In one place, there speaking of the impediments of matrimony (he saith) that if the man be such an one by nature, that it is impossible for him to do the duty of an husband, then his contract with a woman shall not bind her to be his wife. And this is the reason, ‘Quia error et ignorantia virilis impotentiae hic impedit matrimonium.’ Which saying, if you papists condemn, ye condemn the doctrine of your own father, the pope himself. For Gregory, Bishop of Rome, writing to the Bishop of Ravenna, saith on this wise, ‘Vir et mulier si se conjunxerint, &c. If a man and woman be married together, and the woman afterwards say, that the man can have no carnal knowledg of her, and can bring forth lawful proof thereof, let her take another.’ And the self same doctrine is largely set forth by the master of the sentences.—If Martin were not shameless, I could not but mervail, why he should so report of Luther, concerning his doctrine of matrimony in that book; for he is there so wary in his words, and so circumspect with his pen in that point, that he will define nothing; as by the very last words there, in treating upon matrimony, it is most evident.”

Martin had railed against the famous prince King Henry VIII. father to the present queen, under the name of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, and his uncle; comparing King Henry with him that had lost the empire to the Turk. This emperor, as Martin hinted, fell into great troubles after a contention he had with Pope Nicolas, for a pleasure the said emperor shewed to his uncle, in putting away of his lawful wife, and marrying his daughter-in-law. And then that author wished, that the like had not been practised elsewhere; meaning King Henry, in divorcing his Queen Katharine, and marrying Ann Boleyn; and that aforesaid story Martin pretended to have out of a Greek author. But Ponet shewed, that this could not be true of Michael Paleologus; for between the time of this emperor and Pope Nicolas, was the space of above four hundred years. For as there were several emperors named Michael, so the seventh and last only was surnamed Paleologus. Martin also, in this place, imputed the breach and contention between the Greek and Latin church, and the overthrow both of the Grecian church and kingdom to the lecherous life of the uncle of Michael Paleologus. But Ponet at large proved, that the pope, the author of all mischief in the church of God, was the only match that kindled this fire; for the Cardinal Bessarion, patriarch of Constantinople, and Archbishop of Nicea, in his Oration for the Unity of the Greek and Latin Church, shewed that the Bishop of Rome, when he had called a general council, took upon him, upon his own private authority, to add this parcel, *i. e.* of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, to the common creed, without the consent of the rest of the bishops there assembled. So that it was the rash and temerarious boldness of the Bishop of Rome, that caused this dissension; who of his own authority would do that tumultuously, which he might have done with the consent of others quietly. And that was it, saith our author, that caused all the dissension

1556.  
And King  
Henry.

Martin's  
error in  
history and  
chronology

1556. that ensued, and also the latter ruin, mischief and destruction of the Turkish captivity.

The charge  
of heresy  
retorted  
upon pa-  
pists.

This book ends with the names of a number of old heretics condemned in the church of God, out of whose heresies, opinions and errors in doctrine, and strange behaviour in manners, diet, vesture and life, the papists have gathered their opinions and rules; whereby they had framed and couched together the whole body of their popish and heretical learning; as it was sufficiently proved by the testimony of old doctors and antient writers, in a part of his book. Where their sundry opinions and behaviour, and the opinions and behaviour of the popish sect, were so compared and joined together, that the reader might easily perceive how popery is one most pestilent heresy, as the author said, mingled and made up of a multitude of other perilous and blasphemous heresies. This task Ponet undertook, because his adversary had been so liberal in calling the professors of the gospel *heretics*, and speaking much how heresy and litchery went together; therefore had Ponet spent one long chapter in his book, in joining with Martin and all the rest of his sect, for trial, as he said, whether of the two were most worthy of the name of heretic. Having notably performed this, at the conclusion of his book, by way of a table, he sets down the names of some of the old heretics, of whom he charged the papists to have gathered their opinions, and the years of our Lord when they lived; and the references to the pages where the reader might find their agreement with the papists. The list of these heretics is as follows:

p. 823.

|              |              |               |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Simon Magus, | Carpocrates, | Valentinus,   |
| Ebion,       | Saturninus,  | Secundus, &c. |
| Basilides,   | Gnostici,    |               |

And so he proceeded, naming no less than one and fifty heretics; reaching to the heretics in the first century, viz. to the year 449. And then this conclusion he sets down at the end: "That church



which the papists say is of catholics, is proved by the doctors a flock of heretics." 1556.

I may perhaps be thought to have been too tedious in the relation of the contents of this book : but it will be forgiven me by him that well considereth, how very material the passages alleged are, to give some knowledge of this learned bishop of King Edward's, and of the history of those times ; and I hold it just to retrieve such remarkable writings from utter oblivion, into which they are sinking, after such a revolution of years.

## CHAP. XLI.

Books published. Abjurations. Arians. Readers at Frankford. John Knox sent for to Scotland.

NEAR about this time also, and this year, was another book of the said Dr. Ponet's published, intitled, *A Treatise of Political Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings, and other Civil Governors, being an Answer to Seven Questions, viz.* Ponet's book of Political Power.

I. Whereof politic power groweth ; whereof it was ordained, and the right use and duty of the same ?

II. Whether kings, princes, and other governors, have an absolute power and authority over their subjects ?

III. Whether kings, princes, and other politic governors, be subject to God's laws, and the positive laws of their country ?

IV. In what things, and how far subjects are bound to obey their princes and governors ?

V. Whether all the subjects' goods be the emperor's or king's own, and that they may lawfully take them, as their own ?

VI. Whether it be lawful to depose an evil governor, and kill a tyrant ?

1556

VII. What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates?

p. 329. This book was not over favourable to princes. Their rigors and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceable subjects, in these times, put them upon examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and straiten as much as they could.

Printed  
after his  
death.

The printer, it seems, had got this book in manuscript into his hands, and printed it without the leave of the author, not knowing whether he was dead or no. In the epistle to the reader it is said, "The gravity of the work, the soberness of the style, and the equity of the cause, joyned with substantial proofs, shewed a mighty zeale, and a fervent care of the author for his country. And the publisher addeth, he put forth the work, to the intent the travail of the doer might not be lost, neither true English hearts frustrate of so worthy an instruction." But, I suppose, if the author had been alive (as he died this year) he would not have permitted this his discourse upon so tender a subject, and so apt to be abused, to have gone abroad in all hands. This book was printed again in the year 1642, to serve the turn of those times.

A book  
comes  
forth Of  
the Unity  
of the  
Church.

Another book appeared also abroad now, intituled, *Of the Unity of the Church*; dedicated by the author, unnamed, to Cardinal Pole, under this title, "To the most holy and godly prince, Reginald Pole, cardinal and legate, honor, vertue and grace from our Lord Jesus Christ." Herein he hath these words, "That Christ's church was never so miserably tost and turmoiled, especially within this realm of England, with sects and divisions, as it hath been of late years; whereas it hath not been only counted lawful for the wicked to excogitate, to teach, to profess, to maintain and defend errors and heretics without restraint; but also he that most vilely could defile his mother the church, Christ's spouse, was best regarded, was taken and accepted as the most honest;

most excellent, most worthy man, and best learned. Such were thought most meet to examine causes, and bear rule in the commonwealth.—In other times, we read here of one heresy, and there of another; but in this season, which, good Lord! what heresy, though long ago condemned by Christ's church, have they not stirred up again; and, under the cloak and colour of Christian liberty, defended the same, seeking still innovation, alteration, and utter destruction of all godliness; still crying, *The primitive church, The primitive church*: as though a child should continue a child in the state of infancy, and never encrease further; not marking, that the truth was first sought, then found, after believed, observed and followed; and is still of the faithful sort from time to time, to be kept without turning back. But they turned back from all godlines, from all vertue, honesty and grace; being far unmeet therefore for the kingdom of God.—When we once fled forth of Peter's ship, we fell straitway headlong into all licentious liberty. Then we forsaked utterly all general councils, all ordinances from the beginning kept in Christ's church, all judgments upon scripture save our own. Then of singularity, we did select and choose a new faith; every day changing and altering. And no marvail, after that our noble prince, through counsel of some wicked men about him, took that in hand, which never true catholic king did usurp before him; that is to say, to sit in Peter's chair. Since what time, O! good Lord, what miseries have we fallen into, as well bodily as ghostly? But now, thanks be to Jesus Christ, which through his mercy hath brought us again unto our mother the catholic church, even unto Peter's ship; and Jesus long preserve her among us, by whose means we were brought again into it." Thus did this author shew his zeal for popery, and thought himself very dexterous in describing and declaiming against the religion practised under King Edward.

1556.

p. 330.

This was the sum of the epistle. The book con-

1556. sisted of sundry probations, whereof some did set forth St. Peter's pre-eminency above the other apostles; some declared the most high authority and power given by Christ to him and his successors, to be above all others, both spiritual and temporal; and some did manifestly shew (at least as he pretended) that no temporal magistrate, king, or emperor, could be head of the church.

The Book  
of Statutes  
printed.

To these books I add the *Statutes*, this year also printed together, by Richard Totil, stationer. The book is but a little volume in octavo, however big the statute-book since is swollen. Berthelet indeed had printed the statutes in a larger volume in English; but Totil now published them exactly according to the rolls of parliament, in old Latin and French. And many faults in other printed books were here rectified and amended; the light of pointing adjoined, the chapters of the statutes truly divided, and noted with their due numbers, and in sundry places much added out of books of good credit. This Totil was a diligent and judicious printer of law books; he was the first that printed the year books, and other books of the law, more correctly and methodically; which books were imperfect before, and very scarce to be had, which had caused the prices of them to be excessively high, the most part also of them marvelously mangled, and no small parts of them nowhere to be gotten. These imperfections and wants were supplied by him, and the prices of them eased, and the print much pleasanter to the eye in the books of years than any before, and the paper good and margin fair; and no small number by him set forth, which were scarce to be found in writing before. He procured also learned helps, to print them the more correct from the ancient copies he made use of.

Totil the  
printer.

Langdale's  
book.

Langdale, who was one of the disputants upon the question of transubstantiation, when Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, and some others, visited the university of Cambridge, in June, 1549, the said Ridley then determining, did this year set forth a book to con-



fute the determination of that pious father, and now martyr. It was intituled, “Albani Langdal. Confutatio Determinationis Nic. Ridley.” Printed at Paris, in quarto. Which learned Determination of Ridley is preserved in Fox’s Martyrology, under the reign of King Edward. 1556:  
p. 1261.

The Form of Prayer and religious service, used lately in the Church of Strangers, in London, whereof A Lasco had been superintendent, was this year printed in French, intituled, “Toute la Forme et Maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique en l’Eglise des Estrangers, dressée à Londres en Angleterre, par le Prince très fidele dudit Pais le Roy Edward VI. de ce Nom. 1550. Par Jean à Lasco, Baron de Polonie: Traduit de Latin en François.” A Lasco’s  
Form of  
Prayer  
printed.  
p. 331.

The same year the English exiles at Geneva printed their Form of Prayers in Latin, by them publicly used, intituled, “Ratio et Forma publicè orandi Deum, atque administrandi Sacramenta, &c. in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ Genævæ colligitur, recepta, cum judicio et approbatione J. Calvini.” Printed at Geneva, in octavo. And that  
of the Eng-  
lish at Ge-  
neva.

Several did now abjure and recant, not having strength enough to die for their holy profession. I shall mention some of these abjurations, performed in the dioceses of Norwich and Canterbury, as I meet with them in some fragment MSS. of John Fox’s; and the rather because he hath not inserted them in his Martyrology. Michael Donning, LL.D. was now chancellor to Hopton, Bishop of Norwich; under him was John Husband, of Mulberton, abjured, for saying, “That the pope was not head of the church; and, that the ceremonies used in the church, though they could do him no hurt, could not do him good:” and further, “That the blessed sacrament of the altar was but a remembrance of Christ’s death and passion.” Part of his abjuration ran thus: “The said errors, and all other heresies, false doctrines and damnable opinions in general, contrary and repugnant to the faith of Christ’s holy Some ab-  
jure.  
J. Husband

1556. church, I utterly abjure, forsake, and purely renounce before you the said chancellor, and this Christian congregation here assembled; and over this, I swear by these evangelists, by me here bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, or believe the said errors, heresies, and damnable opinions above rehearsed; nor any other again, contrary and repugnant to the holy faith of Christ's church. In witness whereof, to this my present abjuration and recantation, I have, with mine own hand, voluntarily subscribed my name, being the mark of a +."

Then the chancellor enjoined him, as part of his penance, that he should pay to the bishop 4*l.* for the erecting of a new school, to be founded beneath the precincts of the cathedral church; and should hire a preacher, to be provided by the bishop, but at his charge, to preach on festivals, or Sundays, in the church of Mulberton, against all the errors, heresies and schism he had abjured.

G. Aynsworth's  
confession.

George Aynsworth, being in orders, and somewhat distracted in his mind, made this acknowledgment, October 2, before Hopton, the Bishop, and Sir Edward Walgrave, as it is recorded: "That G. A. being examined the day aforesaid, hath taken his oath, that he took upon him ministration most compelled and constrained, and forced thereunto, being a serving man under Sir Thomas Griffin, in Northamptonshire; and was sent for to London by Mr. Poley, and there unwarily, contrary to his mind, was brought into bonds, being a simple man, without experience; so that he must either take upon him ministration, or else to prison: so that the violence or compulsion done unto him, in that he was drawn unto it contrary to his mind, hath so wrought in him that he could never be his own since; his conscience always giving him, that he neither was at that time, nor yet is no minister, but a meer layman. And

until such time as he was removed by reason of marriage. Desiring that he may live as a layman; like as his conscience doth bear him witness that he is, and as he hath taken his oath. And that he may thus do under obedience, and submission under all good order and laws of the realm: his wits failing him at certain times of the year: being more known than I am able to express." It was sometimes practised in these times by covetous patrons to make their serving men take orders, thereby to qualify them to take their livings, to which they presented them, to keep the tithes to themselves, allowing some small salary to those they thus presented. And this might be Aynsworth's case.

1556.

In Kent, was one William Powting, a sawyer, of Thornham, an Arian, abjured: his confession, taken before certain of the queen's commissioners, and justices of the peace, was to this tenor:

An Arian  
abjured.

I. William Powting confesseth, that before his imprisonment, he refused to come to the church, because the service is in a tongue that doth not edify. And he thinketh it contrary to God's word; and saith, that there are certain things used contrary to the Testament, both Old and New.

II. And saith, That he doth not believe, that there is in the real natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ the form of bread. And that it is no article of our faith; and therefore refuseth to come to church.

III. And saith further, That it is no article of our faith, that there is one God and three persons, but one God Almighty: in whom he believeth, and saith, that Christ is not Almighty of himself, but received all power from his Father, and is made God over all things unto us. And saith, that he was not God of the same substance of God from the beginning.

IV. And as for the Holy Ghost, he saith, That he believeth he is not God, but believeth he is the Spirit of God the Father only, given to the Son, and not God of himself. To which is William Powting's

1556; name by himself subscribed, and the names of these as witnesses and commissioners: Nic. Harpsfield, who was Archdeacon of Canterbury, Warham Sent Leger, Tho. Roydon, George Clerk, and Tho. Hendle.

Another  
Arian's  
tenets.

Another of these Arians, now brought into process, was John Simms, of the parish of Brenchley, who had these articles charged against him: "That they that did not understand the Latin tongue, should not have the service of the church in the same tongue; because it doth not edify. That those that were lately burned were saved. That there is not the real body of our Saviour Jesus Christ under the form of bread. That it is against scripture to burn heretics, because of the parable of the man that did sow cockle among the good seed. And lastly, That he did not believe that Christ is consubstantial, that is to say, God from the beginning, and of one substance with the Father; and that there is one God, and three persons. But he believeth the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost is one God, but not three persons.

p. 333.

Another.

Another Arian now detected, was Robert King, of Petham: he was articulated, that he was against the Latin service, that he did not believe the natural presence. *Item*, That if any man can shew him in the scripture the word *consubstantial*, then he will believe that Christ is consubstantial, and of one substance with the Father, or else not. *Item*, he saith, That if any man can shew him this word *person* in the scripture, in the same sense, that then he will believe that there are three persons and one God, or else not. *Item*, he saith, he doubted, Whether it can be proved by scripture, that the Holy Ghost is God or no? *Item*, he saith, That it is not lawful to put a man to death for his conscience sake. Witnesses, Nic. Harpsfield, Tho. Hendle, Hen. Bouchier, Tho. Taylor, John Raynold, Walter Herender.

John Fish-  
cock.

To these I add one more of the diocese of Canterbury, named John Fishcock, whose case was something different from the rest: for he had formerly re-



canted, and said, "Whereas heretofore in my examination I said, that Christ gave to his disciples bread, I say, that he did give to his disciples his very body and blood." This he afterwards revoked, or seemed so to do: for it was asked him, whether he did confess those words that he had said before? and he answered, That he desired to be respited, because he humbly desired to be ascertained, what my lord cardinal's grace's conscience and faith is in this blessed sacrament? saying, That he doth believe, assuredly, that his grace knoweth the truth; and thereupon, did faithfully promise to receive my lord's grace's judgment in good part; and that he will believe it accordingly, as his grace, by his letter or writings, shall advise him in this respect. To which is subscribed by Fishcock himself: "I will abide by my lord's grace's judgment in the sacrament, as is above written, John Fishcock."

1556.

This was a high compliment, to resolve his faith into the judgment of the cardinal, when he doubted to do it into the authority of the church, which is pretended to hold and enjoin that doctrine. But perhaps Fishcock had in his mind what was commonly held by many, that whatever the cardinal outwardly pretended, he was indeed inwardly a protestant, and believed as they did in the doctrine of the sacrament.

As for the English exiles, after the separation of a part of the congregation at Frankford, which departed and settled, some at Basil, and some at Geneva, those that remained, who were for the observation of the English book, used under King Edward, began to set up an university there for the maintenance of learning; wherein the readers constituted, were Dr. Horn, late Dean of Durham, for Hebrew; Dr. Mullins, for Greek; and Dr. Bartholomew Traherne, or Traheron, late Dean of Chichester, for the divinity lecture. This last, among his other readings, read upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel, designedly against the Arians, who began much to increase in

Learned  
readers at  
Frankford,

1556. these times (especially among protestants) and upon the fourth chapter of the Revelations, which led him to treat of the providence of God. The reason he chose to read upon this subject, was to comfort himself and others by the consideration of the Divine Providence, in their present afflicted condition. But a certain learned person, who had been his auditor, impugned some part of what he had spoken, urging that he had used irreverend speech, in saying, That it was in God's will and ordinance that Adam should sin, making God the author of sin. But by the means of Mr. Roger Parker, a person of eminent quality, and an exile there with his family, Trahern and he met; and after some debate, they agreed upon the chief points, that before seemed to be in controversy between them: yet, afterwards, it liked this objector, to shew certain reasons against Traheron's affirmation, either perhaps for exercise of learning, or because he would be better confirmed in the truth. This occasioned Traheron to read one lecture on purpose to satisfy this gentleman's and other's scruples, and in vindication of what he had read before, concerning God's decreeing sin; wherein he disclaimed and abhorred any unbecoming speech of the good and gracious God: beginning thus:

p. 334.

Some accuse the divinity reader.

He vindicates himself;

“ My conscience beareth me witness, that through God's grace and goodness, I have taught you the truth in this place, and that I have spoken reverently of God and his works. I am charged, indeed, with unreverend speech: but, alas! what should move me to speak unreverently of him who made me, when I was nothing? who saved me, when I was lost; who restored me to life, when I was dead; who quitted me, when I was to be damned; who raised me up to heaven, when I was to be cast down to hell; who hath fed me from my cradle, and then most plentifully, when I was an orphan: who also, I am sure, hath delivered me out of many dangers, the avoiding of whereof to procure, I had neither counsel, nor purpose, nor thought. In whom now, being chased

out of my country, and banished from mine acquaintance and known friends, I find sweet comfort, and great plenty of joys even in the midst of tears," &c. 1556.

These readings aforesaid, upon the fourth of the Revelations, Traheron soon after printed, because the matter was of great weight and importance, and yet somewhat scrupulous in the weakness of men's capacities, and subject to the reprehensions and cavillations of licentious heads, and lest any thing should be bruited otherwise than he spake. That all men might know what his meaning was, *not by rehearsal sermons*, as he expressed it in his Prefatory Epistle, *but by his own writing*. And this also he was encouraged to do by the counsel of Gilbert Barklay, whom he had in reverence for his great gravity, and singular integrity of life. These lectures, being three in number, he dedicated to the aforesaid Parker, together with his wife Anne, because it was by his procurement that Traheron and his opponent met so friendly together, and because of their own good deserts, the bellies of the saints having been (and as they daily were) refreshed by them, and to render this testimony of their singular goodness. And published his readings.  
Gilbert Barklay.  
Roger Parker.

Knox was now at Geneva, minister to the English exiles there, having the year before departed from Frankfort, upon the contentions there. But in his native country of Scotland were many professors of the gospel; and, however persecuted, religion went on: but they wanted such a stout-spirited bold man as Knox. And therefore the Earl of Glencarn sent for him the latter end of this year, and so did divers others of the head-protestants at Sterling, to come to them, and to be their preacher again. Their letters were dated from thence, March 10, and John Simms was sent with them. In May following, ann. 1557, they were delivered him. And he consulted hereupon with Calvin, and other godly ministers there; who, with one consent, said, that he should not refuse the vocation, unless he would declare himself rebellious unto God, and unmerciful to his country. And so, p. 333.  
Proceedings of religion in Scotland.

1556. in the end of September, he departed from Geneva, and came to Diep in France, where there met him contrary letters. Whereupon he wrote a letter to Scotland from Diep, Oct. 27, and so came back to Geneva again. The Scotch protestants again wrote a letter to Calvin, craving of him, that by his authority he would command Knox once again to visit them. And these letters were delivered by John Grey in the month of November. And this was Knox's third vocation. But this belongeth to the next year. But let us again turn our eyes home-wards.

## CHAP. XLII.

A conspiracy. The Lady Elizabeth's name used therein. Courtney, Earl of Devon, dies. Proceedings against heretics.

The people dissatisfied GREAT were the dissatisfactions of the people at this time; every one being much discontented with the government, in respect of the blood that was shed of the queen's innocent, quiet, and godly subjects, and the prospect of much more: for, in effect, an inquisition was now set up; the Spaniard domineered, and nosed the nobility and gentry of the nation, and a slavery was coming apace upon this free-born people. This Dr. Ponet, in one of his books, hath a few words of, "*Inquisitio hæreticæ pravitatis* is now entred into England, and likewise the Spanyard to destroy the liberty of the English nation; whereby, no doubt, shortly the noses of the nobility shall be holden to the grindston, and the necks of the commons tyed under the priests' girdles. From which misery, I beseech Jesus Christ save so many as favour, from the bottom of their hearts, Christ and the whole realm of England. Amen."

Answer to Martin.

A new plot.

So that this realm was seldom quiet without insurrection, or attempts that way. Wyatt's rebellion was before spoken of. This year happened another, or



rather two, but nipped in the bud : for a conspiracy was made this spring, but soon discovered and quashed. And stirrings there were again in June: for one Dudley Ashton, and divers others of the English nation, lurking in France, endeavoured again to raise disturbances here, and to make their rising in the farther parts of Essex and Suffolk: and for that purpose, had dispersed divers letters and proclamations thereabouts; and in those quarters, I suppose, the rather, because they were so replenished with protestants, and the queen there rendered so odious, by reason of the many executions of honest men and women for religion, belonging to those counties. But notwithstanding, such was the loyalty of that people, and such obedient subjects they were, as immediately upon understanding this enterprize, they did of themselves, without any commandment, apprehend as many of the attempters of this practice, as they could come by. These conspirators, for the better furthering their design, had sent over a bold man, and once condemned, called Cleyberye or Clayberd, who gave himself out to be the Earl of Devon; and the Lady Elizabeth's name they made use of also. This man was afterwards taken in high Suffolk, and executed at Bury.

With this the queen's council thought fit the said lady should be acquainted; and sent a letter to Mr. Pope (one placed with her by the queen's order) dated July the 30th, from Eltham, whom they ordered to let her know this, and to open unto her the whole circumstances of the cause. "That it might appear how little these men stood at falshood and untruth to compass their purpose, and how for that intent they had abused her grace's name." This letter is printed in the collections to *The History of the Reformation* (where Cleyberdo is misread for Cleyberye.) Queen Mary also wrote herself to her sister, then at Hatfield, concerning this practice; and how they had made use of her name, as though she were privy, and a party concerned.

The council acquainted the Lady Elizabeth thereof.

Vol. II. p. 314.

1556.

Whereat she wrote a well-penned letter, dated in the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming it, and declaiming against the actors in this rebellion. And she thought it concerned her to clear herself of this slander, having suffered so dearly for a slander of the same nature in Wyat's business. And having her original letter by me, I will not think much to transcribe it in this place.

The Lady  
Elizabeth  
to Queen  
Mary,  
clearing  
herself.  
MSS. penes  
me.

“WHAN I revolve in mynde (most noble quene) the old love of Painims to ther prince, and the reverent fere of Romaines to ther senate, I can but muse for my parte, and blusche for thers, to se the rebellious hartes and devillish intentes of Christians in names, but Jues indede, toward their oincted king; which, methinks, if they had feared God, thogh they could not have loved the state, they shuld for drede of their own plage have refrained that wikkednes, which their bounden duty to your magistie hath not restrained.

p. 357.

“But whan I call to remembrance, that the devel, ‘Tanquam leo rugiens circumit quærens quem devorare potest,’ I do the les marveille though he have gotten such novices into his professed house, as vessels (without God's grace) more apt to serve his palace, than mete to inhabit Inglishche land. I am the bolder to call them his impes, for that Saint Poule sayeth, *Seditiosi filij sunt diaboli*. And sins I have so good a bucklar, I fere the les to enter into ther judgement. Of this I assure your majestie, though it be my part above the rest to bewaille such things, though my name had not been in them; yet it vexeth me too much, that the devel owen me such a hate, as to put me in any part of thes michevous instigations. Whom as I profes him my foe, that is all Christians enemie, so wische I he had some other way invented to spite me; but sins it hath pleased God thus to bewray ther malice afore they finische ther purpose, I most humbly thank him, both for that he had ever thus preserved your majestie throw

his ayde, much like a lamb, from the hornes of thes 1556.  
 Basan bulls; and also sturs up the hartes of your  
 lovinge subiects, to resist them, and deliver you, to  
 his honor and ther shame: the intelligence of which  
 proceeding from your majestie, deserveth more  
 humble thanks, than with my pen I can render: which  
 as infinite, I will leve to number.

“ And among erthely things, I chiefly wische this  
 one, that ther wer as good surgeons for making anat-  
 omies of hartes, that might shew my thoghts to your  
 majestie, as ther ar expert fysitians of the bodies,  
 able to expres the inward greves of ther maladies to  
 ther patient. For than, I doute not, but know well,  
 that whatsoever other shulde suggest by malice, yet  
 your majestie shulde be sure by knowledge; so that  
 the more such misty cloudes offuscate the clere light  
 of my truth, the more my tried thoghts shulde glistar  
 to the dimming of ther hidden malice. But sins  
 wisches ar in vain, and desiars oft fail, I must crave  
 that my dedes may supply that my thoughts can not  
 declare, and that they be not misdeamed, ther as the  
 facts have bene so well tried. And like as I have  
 bene your faithful subject from the beginning of your  
 raigne, so shall no wicked parsons cause me to change  
 to the end of my lief. And thus I commit your  
 majestie to God's tuition, whom I besече long time  
 to preserve; ending with the new remembrance of  
 my old sute, more for that it shulde not be forgotten,  
 than for that I think it not remembred. From  
 Hatfelde this present Sonday, the second day of  
 August.

Your majesties  
 Obedient subject,  
 And humble sistar,  
 ELIZABETH.”

For the examination of this conspiracy, and to  
 look more narrowly into it, peculiar commissioners  
 were appointed by the queen, and such as she might  
 most of all confide in; who should have the hearing

Special  
 commis-  
 sioners for  
 this con-  
 spiracy.

1356. of all such persons and matters touching it. And these were Mr. Comptroler, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Edward Waldgrave, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Edward Hastings, and the sollicitor. And as for all other nobles, they meddled nothing. And if any suitors spake to them, they would wish them good speed, but said, they meddled not in those matters, and willed them to resort unto the commissioners. Of these traitors were these three, about the middle  
 p. 338. of June, arraigned and condemned at Guildhall, Lewkner, Wray and Turner: and within a few days after was another great arraignment of others at the same place.

Lord Bray  
 committed

Of these plotters the Lord Bray was accused for one, a loose man and needy, and an unkind husband to a good wife. He was taken up in this month of June, and committed a close prisoner to the Fleet, and a few days following removed to the Tower, and there remained in close restraint; and his condition so low, that his friends were fain, upon sufferance, to relieve him with meat and drink, which was delivered at the court gate to one of the jailors, as they called them, appointed to serve and attend upon the prisoners there. And yet this meat and drink, afforded by his friends, was so slender, that some of his men applied to the Countess of Shrewsbury, related, as it seems, to him, to beg some piece of meat for him: for neither did his friends much care for him. This lord, I say, was one of these supposed traitors: but he stood much upon his truth, and desired his accusers might be brought before his face; which was granted him; and two of them, named Francis Verney, and Edmund Verney, touched on him very sore. He was to be indicted at Westminster, and after arraigned, and was in danger of his life, unless the interest of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, might prevail with the queen to spare him.

The Lady  
 Bray pe-  
 tioned.

The Lady Bray's condition was much pitied by the queen herself, she being a virtuous woman, and



evilly used by him: and in this present matter so handled herself in her suits, as well to the gentlemen as to the ladies of the court, that she was more commended and lamented than all other suitors were: insomuch, that the queen, upon the report which she had of her, gave her great praise, and earnestly said, that God sent oftentimes to good women bad husbands. The Earl of Pembroke was a suitor unto the queen for her. This said Lady Bray delivered to Mrs. Styrley, of the privy chamber, a token with hearty commendations from the Earl of Shrewsbury: by reason whereof she shewed herself a very faithful friend unto the said lady. Mrs. Clarentieux, another much about the queen, gave her very good words; and further caused her to dine with her, and so led her by the hand through the court into her chamber: but that was thought to be by the queen's special commandment. By these passages she succeeded in procuring favour for her lord, how little soever he deserved it. And the next year he was at the battle of St. Quintin's, and died not long after.

1536.

This year died of a double tertian a very hopeful gentleman, at the age of thirty, at Padua, namely, Edward, the last Earl of Devon, of the family of the Courtneys. He was the grandson of William, who, for the antient nobility of his stock, married Katharin, the younger daughter of King Edward IV. by whom he had Henry, who in the right of his wife bare the white rose in his coat of arms, the mark of the family of York; and so was brother-in-law to King Henry VII. who married the other, and eldest daughter of the said King Edward. He was the father of this Edward, who, upon the unhappy end of his said father, cut off by King Henry VIII. though a very excellent well-deserving gentleman, was kept a prisoner in the Tower for fourteen years; that is, from twelve years old until he was six-and-twenty; when Queen Mary coming to the crown, set him at liberty. There was a speech of his matching with

The Earl  
of Devon  
dies at  
Padua.

p 339.

1556. the Lady Elizabeth, King Henry VIIIth's daughter. And some there were who were concerned in the rising of Wyat, that would have brought in this noble earl into the practice; but he, like a wary man, and an honest grateful subject, refused. But, however, he was under some cloud upon this: and some such accusation Wyat had laid upon him, and the Lady Elizabeth. So that they were both clapt up in the Tower.

He is allowed to travel.

Coop. Chron.

His accomplishments.

Yet he, after some time, recovered a seemingly perfect favour with the queen: and then he was allowed, or rather sent, to travel in Italy; fearing some stirs might arise by means of him. To prevent which, when he was there, it was thought he was made away by poison. In his travels he was allowed by the king and queen to repair to Brussels, the emperor's court, to wait upon the Emperor Charles, to declare there his innocency and loyalty; where he was graciously received, and for his princely and excellent endowments, much esteemed. Thence being to travel into Italy, King Philip being then at Brussels, wrote divers letters commendatory to carry along with him, to the Italian estates and princes. Wheresoever he came, he was received with all respect; and had intended to travel through Italy; but on a sudden he was cropt off at Padua, to the great loss of England; for he was very studious and well learned. He understood mathematics well; he could paint excellently; he played absolutely well on musical instruments; he spake Spanish, French, and Italian accurately; and, which was the crown of all, he was a man of great piety, and placed the chief good in virtue. He was buried very honourably at Padua, and Dr. Thomas Wylson (he who was afterwards secretary of state) being then there, and perhaps his tutor, made a very eloquent oration at his funeral in St. Anthony's Church. The reader will pardon me for inserting this, somewhat beside my purpose, as not relating to the church; but I thought so eminent a person, and the last of so illustrious a

family deserved a small memorial. The oration before-said may be seen in the Repository. 1556.  
No. LVII.

Prosecutions still went on vigorously against the Gospellers, and executions were daily done upon them, though Winchester was dead. And these severities the council, now altogether popish, directed, as may be seen by these two orders following, extracted out of the Council-book, as I suppose, and found among the Foxian MSS.

“ August 23, a letter to the Lord Darcy of Chiche, of thanks for his searching for, and apprehending of certain persons, who use secret conventicles and readings, about Harwich and Dovercourt. He is willed to bind them, and all other detected by examinations, by him sent to the lords, in good bands for their good a-bearing and forth-coming, when he shall call for them. And also to cause them to be indicted for their unlawful assemblies; and thereupon to fine them at his discretion, and according to the qualities of the persons. And, that done, to bind them to appear personally before the Bishop of London. Order for apprehending such in Harwich as met at secret conventicles.

“ Another letter to Boner, that when they shall appear before him, he shall travail to reduce them to the church, or else order them according to the laws in those cases provided. p. 340.  
Bonner concerning them.

“ November 17, a letter to Bishop Boner, sending him therewith, by a servant of the Lord Darcie, one Rauf Allerton, a companion of Trudgovers, requiring him to examine him, and order him according to the laws. And further, to take order, that William Bonger and Ellen Urynge, of Colchester, be likewise proceeded withal; who, being before indicted for religion, and also returned home again, as persons discharged by his lordship, are now eftsones worse than they were before.” These were soon after burnt. Orders to him to proceed with others.

The Lord Darcy, before mentioned, I find to have been now in a bloody commission, and, as it seems, zealous in the prosecution of it: for, for the more A commission against Lollards.

1556. effectual extirpating heresy, this year a commission went out from the king and queen to certain of her council, bishops, and others, to inquire after, and punish, all Lollards, and to impose an oath upon whomsoever they would call, to make discovery of them; a kind of inquisition. But besides this general commission, there were particular commissions to make inquisition into particular counties and places.

A commis-  
sion for  
Essex.

Thus a commission was sent down into Essex, directed to the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Darcy, Sir Henry Tyrrel, Anthony Brown, William Benlowes, serjeants at law; Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, Esqrs. Here, by the way, I will insert one passage of one of these commissioners, viz. Anthony Brown: he, in open sessions, said (I suppose in the very beginning of Queen Mary's reign, or the latter end of King Edward's), "That the mas was abominable, and all their trumpery besides; wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe them, and that our belief should be only in Christ. And that whosoever should bring in a strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered." This Watts, the martyr, told him openly before the court, where were the Lord Rich, and many other justices, sitting at Chelmsford, and affirmed, that he, among others, heard him use these words. But this man came so sheer about now, that he became one of the chiefest persecutors in Essex.

A note con-  
cerning one  
of these  
commis-  
sioners.

Lands and  
goods of  
such as  
fled to be  
seized.

But to return to the commission. These commissioners before mentioned had orders to seize the lands, tenements, and goods, of such as fled away from their houses to avoid persecution: so that the true owners should not have the use nor commodity thereof; and by inventories taken, they were to remain in safe keeping.

Inquiry  
after popish  
ornaments  
taken from  
churches.

The popish ornaments in Colchester, and the hundreds thereabouts, had been taken away, and wanting in abundance of parish churches; so the queen sent a warrant for the restitution of the church goods. This was read by the commissioners; and all the



parishes were called and summoned, and ordered by such a set time to certify Kingston, the Bishop of London's commissary here, concerning the ornaments to their respective churches belonging; and until they had certified, to make their appearance from time to time at the sessions of the justices: which must needs have been an excessive trouble and charge to the country, for such numbers of them to neglect so often their trades, business, and husbandry, besides the expences of courts, and of travel to Colchester, and elsewhere, where the commissioners should sit. 1556.  
p. 341.

By virtue of their commission they had taken up a great number of poor men and women, under the name of heretics and Lollards; and many more there were, that by forcing oaths upon men, were discovered, but could not be taken; but their names they took in writing, and gave them in, as persons indicted for treason, or fugitives, or disobedient to laws. Great numbers taken up.

For in Colchester, and the parts thereabouts especially, the protestants were so plentiful, that this year Justice Brown, before mentioned, that dwelt beside Brentford, came down hither, and there played the devil, by the counsel of Mr. Tyril, and Mr. Cossin, of the same city, and one Gylbart, a lawyer; who caused divers honest men to be sent for before the said justice, and sworn upon a book to bring in the names of all those that were suspected of heresy, as he termed it. Now strict charge was given unto the officers, that from time to time diligent search should be made in every house for all strangers; and that such should be taken and brought before a justice: for this place, said Brown, is an harbour for all the heretics, and ever was. So when he had bound them all in recognizances, he willed them to depart every man to his house. This being known, divers that were concealing themselves there, speedily conveyed themselves away. Colchester searched.

But notwithstanding all these several courses, religion still prevailed greatly; as appeared by the compassion, countenance, and encouragement that was

Two-and-twenty brought together through Essex.

1556. given to two-and-twenty at once, sent up by the commissioners from Colchester, as they passed through the country, tied and driven along like sheep to the shambles. And at Stratford Bow companies of good men met them, as it were, to conduct them honourably to London, comforting and heartening these poor prisoners of Jesus Christ. And still the nearer they came to London, the compassionate crowds increased about them; so that by the time they came through the city to Fulham, where the bishop was, there were above a thousand people. The bishop, surprised at this, told Sir John Gresham, being then with him, that he should let the mayor and sheriffs know, that this was not well ordered of the city.

The legate  
sends his  
com-  
missioners.

But besides these commissioners aforesaid, that the country might be well scoured, the lord legate was now sending down others by a commission from himself.

A commis-  
sion for  
Norfolk  
and Suf-  
folk.

A commission was also given out for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that were as much infected with the pretended heresy as Essex, before mentioned. To these commissioners (whose names I meet not with) they who were like to feel their severity most, made an earnest and well-penned supplication, which was printed, intitled, “A Supplication made by certain godly Persons, and unfeigned Favourers of Christ’s Gospel, in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: And by them exhibited to the Queen’s Commissioners, sent thither for the subverting and abolishing of God’s holy Word and true Religion; and instead thereof, to place and advance the Romish Blindness, and blasphemous Superstition. Anno Dom. M D LVI.”—Herein, “They first profess to continue, as they had ever hitherto done, in all Christian obedience unto the end; and to these commissioners now having a commandment, as though it were from the queen, with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority, ordained of God (which they acknowledged to stand whole and perfectly in her grace), and with due reverence unto

A suppli-  
cation by  
certain  
godly per-  
sons there.

her commissioners, they beseeched them with patience and pity to receive their answer, viz. That weighing the commandment given to them, concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service, to dissent and disagree from God's word, and to command manifest impiety, and to overthrow true godliness and religion, and to import a subversion of the regal power of this their native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors, superstition, and idolatry, wasting of their goods and bodies, destroying of their souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which they already felt, and feared lest the same should be more hot; therefore they humbly protested, they could not be persuaded, that the same *wicked* commandment (as they called it) should come from the queen's majesty, but rather from some other, that abused the queen's goodness and favour, and studied to work some feat against the queen, her crown, and the realm, to please with it the Roman bishop. They thought the queen's gentle heart to be abused by some who sought themselves, and their own vain glory, by procuring such commandments as were against the glory of God. For they could not have so ill an opinion of her majesty, that she would subvert that most godly and holy religion, set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent King Edward, her brother, except she were wonderfully abused. That the religion set forth by the same king, was such, in their consciences, as every Christian was bound to confess to be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's church here in England, must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth; and, if need require, lose and forsake, not only house, land and possessions, riches, wife, children and friends, but also, if God so call them, gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives in defence of God's word and truth, set out among them."

And afterwards, towards the conclusion, they add,

1556. "That they had humbly opened unto the commissioners their consciences, sore wounded and grieved by this commandment: and they meekly prayed and beseeched the queen's majesty, for the precious death and bloodshed of Jesus Christ, to have mercy and pity upon them, her grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her grace was supreme head. That all their bodies, goods, lands, and lives, were ready to do her grace faithful, obedient, and true service, in all commandments, that were not against God and his word. But in these things, that imported a denial of Christ, and a refusal of his word and holy communion, they could not consent nor agree unto it: for they had bound themselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances; and if they p. 343. denied him before men, he would deny them before his heavenly Father, and his holy angels, in the day of judgment; which they trusted her benign grace would not require of them. They humbly beseeched, that they might not be forced unto it: but, as they served her grace with body and goods, and due obedience according to God's commandment, so that they might be permitted freely to serve God and Christ, and keep unto him their souls, which he had with his precious blood redeemed. That if persecution ensued, with which they were threatned, they desired the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear their cry, and to judge between them and their adversaries; and give them faith, strength, and patience, to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days for his chosen sake. And so they faithfully believed he would. Notwithstanding, they trusted the queen's gracious and merciful heart would not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful subjects."

Finally, "They heartily prayed the commissioners to be means unto the queen's highness and her council, that their humble suit might be favourably ten-



dred, and graciously heard; and so subscribed themselves, 1556.

*Your poor Suppliants, and Lovers of Christ's  
True Religion in Norfolk and Suffolk."*

This whole Supplication Mr. Fox hath preserved in his Acts and Monuments. But I think it had little effect, the queen and council being so vigorously bent to severity against all that opposed their proceedings, and so resolved upon the establishment of the old religion.

## CHAP. XLIII.

p. 544.

Preparations in the North. Matters with Scotland. The Earl of Cumberland complained of.

THERE was now, in the month of January, a great apprehension of an invasion or rebellion in the north parts; which occasioned the queen to send her letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury, for the putting in a readiness the able men within the counties of York and Derby. On the 24th of January, he signified back his care in fulfilling the queen's command, with as much expedition as he might. But the queen again willed her council (such was her fear) that they should again remind the said lord of her former command, and to use such diligence therein, as her highness might understand what he had done in that behalf, with all convenient speed. But in truth those northern parts were at present in a great want of money, victuals, ammunition, and other things. Of which the said earl, being Lord President of the North, gave them notice, and desired a supply, in case a necessity of service should happen.

Fear of  
stirs in the  
North.

The lord treasurer therefore took such order, as he wrote to the earl, that the office of the ordnance in the North was sufficiently furnished with munition, ordnance, powder, and all other things necessary;

Supplies  
sent into  
the North.

1536: which the Lord Wharton, who was keeper of the town and castle of Berwick, and master of the ordnance there, would inform them. And as for money, the queen's council sent word, that when the queen should have occasion to use the service of those men that should be put into a readiness there, she would take order for the furniture thereof, as need should require. And as for victuals and provender, they thought, as far as they could understand, that there was as good store of those things in those parts, as in any other place of the realm, the scarcity being general at that time.

Orders to  
the Earl of  
Shrews-  
bury ;

The Earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant of some of those northern counties, being intended chief of that army, that was preparing in those parts, had desired a special commission for that service. In answer to which, the council signified, that his commission of lieutenancy, if the same stood still in force, were sufficient for the two causes of rebellion or invasion, was as much as needed to answer the queen's meaning at that time. And they added, that they doubted not, but he would be always in such readiness, as if any preparation should be made by any foreign enemy, for the invasion of the borders, they might be ready to meet there within time, according to the trust in him. This was writ the last day of January, from Greenwich, and signed by the Lord Chancellor, Marquis of Winchester (lord treasurer), the Earl of Arundel, Lord William Howard, Thomas Bishop of Ely ; Sir William Petre, John Bourne, and John Boxal, secretaries.

p. 345.  
And other  
earls and  
lords in  
the North.

The queen also wrote letters at this time to the same import, that is, to be all united and in a readiness, to the other lieutenants, viz. the Earls of Westmorland and Cumberland ; also to the Lord Coniers, the Lord Evers, the Lord Scroop, and the Lord Darcy.

Command was also sent to take a diligent account of all the Marches, West, East, and Middle ; to know what strength was to be expected there, and to put

things in a readiness, which had of late gone very much into neglect and disorder. 1556.

That which was done in the East and Middle Marches, the Lord Wharton, lord warden thereof, signified to the lord president, together with a declaration of the warden-court which he had called ; which warden-court began at Alnwic-castle the 3d of February, and continued till Monday the 8th. The order whereof, and what was done, he sent the lord president in a schedule, viz.

The condition of the East & Middle Marches.

“ A brief declaration of the warden-court, held at Alnwic for the king and queen’s majesties East and Middle Marches of England, in the time of six days continuing the same court, viz. beginning the 3d of February instant, and ending the 8th of the same. Wherein is mentioned, as well the number of offenders, at one instant brought to the bar by the Lord Wharton, his deputies and servants, for suspicion of march-treasures by them committed, as also the numbers of juries chosen, and purposely tried forth of all places within the said marches, to pass of enquiry and delivery, and for matters of controversy between party and party: and what number of the said march-traitors, as before, were endited and condemned to dy.

|                                                            |                                                      |                                                  |                                                    |                                                          |                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| “ At the bar in one instant, in number five score and one. | Causes between party and party ordered, seventy-five | Quests of gentlemen for enquiry, in number five. | Quests of gentlemen for delivery, in number three. | Indicted for the march-treasures, in number sixty-eight. | Cast and condemned to dy for march-treasures, in number five. All Scotch men.” |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Before the end of the court, he called the gentlemen and freeholders, and declared to them the qucen’s commandment for their service and readiness upon an hour’s warning: and having their own certificates of musters, he demanded of every man severally, if their power with horse, armour and weapon were ready, according to their said certificate: who said every one openly after their name and number read,

Their strength.

1556. that they would stand to the same. Thereupon he commanded, in their majesties' names, to see their furniture immediately after their repair unto their houses. They confessed eight hundred and twenty horsemen, and eleven hundred and forty-nine footmen. Notwithstanding which he set forth gentlemen to muster the country in several parts; of which he afterwards certified the lord president.

The Lord  
Wharton's  
deserts.

This was the care of the Lord Wharton, warden of the East and Middle Marches; which had gone of late years much into disorder, and were of great extent. This gentleman seemed to deserve well in this office; the weight of which he was very apprehensive of, telling the lord president, "That it was a charge  
p. 354. over great, and too much for so unmeet a subject as he was, to rule so great a country, which had been so long suffered in disorder: but that he was glad, that he was commanded for the future to certify to the said president, from time to time, the occurrences of those marches: and prayed him, that he would favour him and the service under his charge to his comfort." This for the East and Middle Marches.

The state  
of the  
West  
Marches.

As for the West Marches, the Lord William Dacre had also received letters from the council, to take a particular account of the strength of the west wardenry, and to certify them thereof; which he finished by the middle of February. And accordingly sent this certificate unto the council:

*A certificate of the musters taken within the precinct of the West Marches of England, Feb. —, 1556.*

#### IN CUMBERLAND.

|            |                |      |
|------------|----------------|------|
| Furnished. | Light horsemen | 262  |
|            | Archers        | 258  |
|            | Billmen        | 2003 |

Able men 4127, whereof

|              |       |      |
|--------------|-------|------|
| Unfurnished. | ————— | 1604 |
|--------------|-------|------|



## IN WESTMERLAND.

1556.

|                      |                |     |
|----------------------|----------------|-----|
| {<br>Furnished.<br>} | Light horsemen | 67  |
|                      | Archers        | 188 |
|                      | Billmen        | 526 |

Able men 1179, whereof

|                        |       |     |
|------------------------|-------|-----|
| {<br>Unfurnished.<br>} | ————— | 398 |
|------------------------|-------|-----|

The Lord Dacre then gave the lord president account of the state of his borders, and the order taken by the commissioners for redress of attemptates on both sides. The effect whereof was, that all such attemptates committed since the said commissioners meetings, being about the 26th of July last, should be sworn, and first redressed before any other were answered. According to the tenor whereof, he received sundry letters from the lords of the council to proceed indelayedly to the accomplishment of the premises, conform to the law of marches and conservation of the amity. But upon some politic and partial considerations, he deferred the execution of these commands, namely, that the sum of 3000*l.* were filed on the Gremes or Grymes, and already sworn; which the Scots had to demand, for mischiefs and spoils taken from them by that family; and not passing an 100*l.* to be asked of the Scots by the English. Therefore, as he reckoned it for the honour of the realm and commonwealth of those borders, and partly for the said Gremes' sakes, who were men of good service, he had protracted the time by all the means he could devise, and did as much as possible he might to see them undelivered; and intended still so to order and moderate the delivery, to be done at sundry times, that thereby the easier the friends of such as should be delivered, might find remedy for their redemption and enlargement. Although he were much pressed, and earnestly called upon by the Lord Flem-

p. 355.

1556. ing, Lieutenant of Scotland, to proceed and deliver for all at one time and meeting, according to the commissioners' order.

The  
Grames.

This favour was shewn to these Gremes or Grames, who, living upon the borders, were a warlike people; and did great damage and spoil to the Scots in time of war. But they were lawless, and made inroads upon the English too sometimes, and assisted the outlaw Scots. The lord warden, though he shewed them much friendship, had but a hard hand with them: so that the lord president had given them admonition to use themselves obediently towards the warden; yet when he sent for one, called Little Thom. Grame, George's son, and Will. and George, Riche's son (who had played some of their tricks) they would not come at him, and persisted in disobedience. And so stood these matters.

One op-  
pressed by  
the Earl of  
Cumber-  
land.

Archbishop Hethe, lord chancellor in the month of March, *anno exeunte*, wrote to the lord presidency of the North, and the council, to take cognizance of a controversy between the Earl of Cumberland and Gabriel Proctor, Esq. The occasion may appear from a supplication made to the said lord chancellor by the said Proctor. The import whereof was, that whereas there had lately, and of long time, depended matter in controversy, in the court of the dutchy of Lancaster between these two, touching the farm of the manors of Winterborn, Hetton, Ashton, Flasby and Ayreton, in the county of York, whereof Proctor was the farmer, bailiff and receiver: so it was, that notwithstanding a decree, and divers injunctions and writs, awarded against the said earl, his servants and tenants, in Proctor's behalf; the earl and they did not only from time to time disturb, vex and trouble him, his wife, servants and tenants, in the quiet occupation of the premises; but also divers malefactors had been, and still were, maintained and aided by the said earl against the said Proctor, his wife, servants and tenants: whereby they were daily put in danger and fear of their lives; that is to say, one Lancelot

Knowells and Rafe Harrison, his servants, for murdering Proctor's servant at his foot, and leaving him for dead. The earl gave the former a tan-house, and keepership of one of his games, and appointed the latter to be a yeoman-usher in his hall; and did so remain at that present, to the ill example of others, and manifest contempt of the king and queen's laws, with divers others of the said earl's servants, who were aiders and abettors of the said murder. Since which time, his wife, his eldest son and servants, had been sore beaten, hurt and wounded, by certain of the servants and tenants of the said earl, and others hereafter named. And by them divers and many great routs and unlawful acts had been done.

1556.

p. 356

For the reformation of which misdemeanors, it pleased the queen, by her bill signed, to grant her letters of commandment to the sheriff and justices of peace of the county of York, and all other her ministers there, to aid and assist Proctor, in the quiet occupation and enjoying of the said premises, according to the said decree, and a lease granted to him by the late King Edward VI. under the seal of the said dutchy.

In consideration of the premises, and that for fear of the malice of the said earl, his servants, tenants and others by his procurement, and for fear of the loss of his life, Proctor repaired home to his mansion-house and country; where he dared not to go about to put the queen's letters in execution, and attend about his necessary business; therefore he petitioned the lord chancellor for remedy thereof: and in way of charity, (for that the earl was in that country a man of great power, and still maintained his servants, tenants and others against Proctor) to grant him their majesties' writ of special *supplicavit*, to be delivered to the right honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the North, and the rest of the council there, and to the sheriffs and justices of the peace of the said county, and of all Lancashire, authorizing them thereby, not only to call before them the said Earl of

His com  
plaint to  
the lord  
chancell

1556. Cumberland, Lancelot Knowells and Rafe Harrison, Lancelot Neffield, Christopher Muncion, Thomas Clifford, bastard brother to the said earl, Thomas Clifford Aspertyne, and thirteen more, who were principal offenders herein (the three last not being servants unto the earl, had wounded Proctor's wife, whereupon afterward she died) but also Christopher Martin, John Green, and five more; and to bind them all with sufficient sureties to keep the king and queen's peace, and to be of good behaviour towards this orator, his present wife, children, servants and tenants, and especially for the safeguard of the body of this orator; who had, in the last lord chancellor's time, divers writs of special *supplicavit*, and of like effect, directed to the sheriffs and justices of peace; who either durst not, or would not, put any of them in execution, for fear of the displeasure of the earl. The lack of which execution, had been the chief occasion of most of the inidemeanors, and was like to breed greater mischiefs and inconveniences, to the utter undoing of the said gentleman, his wife, children, and the rest that belonged to him.

The earl  
retains 100  
men.

This Earl of Cumberland had but this year obtained a licence from the queen to retain an hundred men: and this domineering over honest men, and oppressing whom he pleased in affront of good laws, and the queen's peace, was some of the good fruits of it.

The lord chancellor, taking the reasonableness of Proctor's petition into his consideration, March 14, sent it to the lord president and council, and, according to his request, appointed them to see justice done, and the person and family of Proctor secured and defended from danger, in case they should find matters according to the complaint. For thus did the chancellor write:

p. 357.

The lord  
chancel-  
lor's letter

“After our right harty commendations to your good lordship; we send unto you here enclosed, a bill of complaint exhibited to us by one Gabriel



Proctor: wherein he doth as well complain and shew, how that through divers the misdemeanours and assaults made upon him by certain of the earl of Cumberland's servants, whose names are contained in the said bill of complaint, he hath and doth stand in much danger and fear of his life: as also requireth, for his safeguard, special writs of *supplicavit*, to be directed to your lordship in this behalf. And because we are loth, without some further understanding of the specialties and truth of this matter, to grant the said writs of *supplicavit*, and yet mind not to leave the party destitute of all remedy, where the same in any case should be requisite; we have therefore thought good to refer this whole matter, and the ordering thereof, to your lordship: praying you, upon the receipt of these our letters, together with the said supplication, to call the parties, or so many of them as ye shall think convenient, before you; and to proceed, either to the binding of them to the peace, or in some greater and straiter bond, as the behaviour of the parties and the cause shall to your lordship's discretion seem to require. Wherby the party complainant may be relieved of this fear, which he seemeth now to stand in. And so we bid your lordship right hartily well to fare.

Your good lordship's  
Assured loving friend,  
NICO. EBOR. CANC.

From the Court the 14th  
of March, 1556."

## CHAP. XLIV.

p. 358.

A plot for betraying Guisnes to the French; managed by Dudley, and other English. Discovered by a spy. French matters.

SEVERAL of the malecontents, that had combined against the queen last summer in a conspiracy, but defeated (as was shewn before) were fled into

English  
rebels har-  
boured in  
France.

1556.

France, where they received shelter and favour. The chief of these were Dudley and Ashton. Others also there were among them, as Offly and Chidley, who refrained any further doings against their native country, but rather by discovery of new attempts, laboured to obtain their pardons for their former disloyalties. The French king, hoping to make his benefit of these English that thus harboured in his country, afforded several of them pensions, and that chiefly according to the advice of Dudley, with whom the king himself vouchsafed sometimes to hold communication. These seditious men's minds were still hatching mischief against the queen; and towards the latter end of the year, Dudley, the master-contriver, was laying a method for betraying of Guisnes and Hammes, two important places in France, under the English dominion, unto the French. Within which places were some with whom Dudley had an understanding.

A spy upon them.

The English state was privy to these Englishmen, that were thus harboured to plot and devise against the realm, and made complaint to the French king of them, but without redress. The queen therefore planted among them certain espials, to watch their motions, and to give intelligence thereof from time to time. Among these, there was one at Roan, who perhaps might have been engaged in the last summer's practices. For Dudley much confided in him, and made use of him to send him between Roan and Guisnes, for the carrying on of the design. By which means he became privy to all their matters; who, as he had intelligence, privily imparted it to a certain officer of the queen's in those parts, and, as it seems, resident in Calais; and he retained a trusty servant, whom he employed in this business. This servant he sent to the court in England, in the latter end of March, to give information of such things as the spy in Roan had communicated secretly by word of mouth unto the said servant; whose information, as

was taken from his mouth by Secretary Petre (whose hand it seems to be) was to this import :

“ That on the 11th day of the said month of March, his master, receiving letters from Offly, dispatched him, the said servant, in post to Roan, to hear and confer with N. (under which letter was meant the spy) having immediately after his departure received letters also from Chidley, concerning the same matter; and, arriving at Roan, he met and had discourse with N. who declared unto him that Dudley had intelligence with divers men, to deliver the said places, or at least one of them, to the French king. That seven weeks past, Dudley had practised with the said king, and the constable of France, about the matter, who liked it, and would have Dudley to proceed therein; and for that purpose had rewarded him, and such as were about him, with great gifts. That since that time Dudley had sent down N. to Guisneys and Hammes, who had, in a secret place nigh thereunto, conferred with the said conspirators of those pieces, and found them in the mind of betraying them. That Dudley knew that there was not victuals in Guisnes for twenty days, nor three hundred men; and therefore trusted the easier to atchieve the enterprize. That N. was to come thither again very shortly, to confer the second time with them, and then to get of them not only letters to Dudley, of their proceedings in this matter, but also other articles for this N.’s instructions, how to work; which bill of articles he intended to get signed with their hands, and then find the means to deliver the same unto this informer’s master, or to some trusty men of his appointment; whereby it should evidently appear to be true what he (*i. e.* N.) had said. That he would by no means name any of them, till he had gotten such proof as he had spoken of. This informer also added, that N. had said, that he had divers letters and writings, as well written from the late Earl of Devon, as from Dudley and others; which being of importance, he would find the means

1556.  
Cott. Lib.  
Titus, B.2.  
Who re-  
veals Dud-  
ley’s trea-  
sons.

p. 359

1556. to deliver to this informer's master. That on the 16th of the month abovesaid, the drums beat at Roan and other places thereabouts, and good numbers of men were levied, and came down towards Abbeville, Monstreul, Rue, &c. That there were divers carts heavy loaden with ammunition, harness, pike, &c. and the same drawn through Paris in the night, and so strait to Roan. That in case N. could conveniently, he would speak with this informer's master, e're he went down to Guisnes, or else, at his return from thence, would not fail to do it: but if indeed he could not come to him, then he would write to his said master, whether he should send some trusty servant of his, to receive the same bill of names, and such other intelligences as he should know. Moreover, that this practised enterprize should be put in execution within a month. That the French king would be at Roan secretly within twelve days. That these men were such as were well able to do this feat, and were of such number and strength, that without great policy they would not be taken; which policy would be, to watch when the chiefest of them were abroad, and then secretly to cut off the passage betwixt them and home, and so to take them.

“Lastly, N. shewed the informer how Dudley sent recommendations to Sir Rauf Bagnal (who seemed to be now in Calais, and this recommendation gave a jealousy of him.) That Dudley had authority (from the French king) to continue and put in whom he listed into the pensions granted to Englishmen there (at Roan) except the Ashtons and the Horseys. That he had already put out Colby, and in his place came one Gittins, a soldier. That Chidley continued a suitor to this informer's master, and seemed to bear a good affection to his country, and sought nothing but the wealth thereof.”

p. 360. This servant having heard all this of N. returned back again in post from Roan to his master, to whom he declared the whole matter; and thereupon he dispatched him into England to the queen, to



whom, or to her council, he related, in order, all that is above said; and, finally, advised that order might be taken for the victualling and manning of the said pieces, within three weeks at the farthest. All this favour shewed by the French to the queen's seditious subjects, was afterwards declared to be the cause of her proclaiming war with that crown. 1556.

The French and the Spaniard were now in very angry hostility against each other. The latter had brought his armies to Italy, and the French opposed him, and had the pope on their side. In March therefore, or thereabouts, departed in post toward Italy, from the French court, the Duke of Guise, the Prince of Ferrara, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke of Nemours, the Marquis Delbeuf, Monsicur Dampville; of whom, the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Ferrara, were ready to depart the 16th of the abovesaid month. That the French bands assembled at Lyons the 15th or 16th of the same, being, as men judged, 20,000 footmen (comprehending the Switzers already departing) and four or 5000 horsemen. The ambassador of Ferrara was looked for to be shortly at the French court; who, as it was said, brought very good news. The Count of Araynes' band was to assemble at Roan very shortly. The Queen of Scots, now in France, was sick of a quartan, and, as it was surely thought, was in a consumption. The Dauphin was sick again. The French had an ill opinion of King Philip, especially in four points, viz. that he warred against the pope, contrary to his promise; that he took and kept some of his towns against his promise; that Ruy Gomez came not to treat, as was promised. And the suspicion they had, that the Duke of Boloign was poisoned, and that the king was privy to it; for that they compelled his wife and son to be bound for the payment of the rest of his ransom, whether the duke lived or died. That he was found by his physicians to have been poisoned.

News from  
France.

The French  
have an ill  
opinion of  
K. Philip.

1556.

p. 353.

## CHAP. XLV.

Some passages of Shaxton, sometime Bishop of Salisbury.  
 Hullier burnt at Cambridge. An oath to be taken by such  
 as took degrees in Cambridge.

Shaxton  
 with others  
 condemn-  
 eth Hullier  
 at Cam-  
 bridge.

**I** WILL, under this year, put in a few notes of Dr. Nicolas Shaxton; this year, in April, being the last time I meet with him in history; and then we find him ill-favouredly employed, embruving his hands in the blood of John Hullier, an excellent devout man, and zealous preacher of the gospel, in the dioceses of Norwich and Ely. For having been cited to appear at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, before a great rout of popish doctors, as Yong, Sedgwick, Scot, and especially, as chiefest, Dr. Shaxton, then the Bishop of Ely's suffragan, and by him sent to Cambridge for this purpose, he was on Palm-Sunday condemned to the fire; which cruel judgment was executed upon him the Thursday following, or Maundy Thursday, on Jesus Green.

Some ac-  
 count of  
 Shaxton.

This Shaxton was one that began well, and held on well for the most part of his life (as hath been shewn) but fell off at last, and made an ill conclusion. He was zealous for the gospel when he was at Cambridge, and studied in Gronvile Hall, a house noted for men affecting religion, about 1530. By means of Crumwel he was preferred to Queen Ann's service, and after to be Bishop of Sarum, about 1535, at the same time that Latimer was preferred to Worcester; and, within four years after, stood against the Six Articles, and with him was then imprisoned, and with him resigned. But, about seven years after, viz. 1546, he fell off from the good profession, and recanted out of fear of his life, and soon after, more publicly and scandalously, did it in Smithfield, at the burning of Ann Askue, in June, when he again revoked thirteen articles. Which revocation, or

recantation, was confuted in a book made by Rob. Crowléy soon after. 1556.

Upon his compliance with popery, he became master of the hospital of St. Giles's, in Norwich, to which Rugge the bishop was patron; which bishop and Shaxton, the master, by their deed acknowledged and enrolled, bearing date March the 6th, an. 1. reg. Edward VI. did give and grant to the king the said hospital, and the possessions and hereditaments belonging to the same. He lived obscurely under the rest of the reign of King Edward; our histories making no mention of him. But under Queen Mary he was heard of again, being often among such as were commissioned to examine and condemn the gossellers.

He that is minded to know more of him, how testy and passionate and hot he was in his temper, and of the occasion of his recantation, may have recourse to Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. And in the Collections is placed a notable letter of the Lord Crumwel to him, while he was bishop, taken out of the Cotton Library; and the thirteen popish articles to which he subscribed, taken out of Bishop Bonner's Register.

I shall here represent his good zeal for religion in his younger days, and also when he was a member of the university. About the time of Bilney's troubles, which were in the years 1530 and 1531, Shaxton was taken notice of for his fervent preaching against superstitions, and suffered much. He preached at West-acre on St. Thomas's Day; blind Bishop Nix, of Norwich, a zealous man for popery, heard of the sermon, and diligently inquired of the Prior of West-acre and of the Prior of Penteney concerning it; and they, probably men well affected to him and his doctrine, shewed the bishop that it was a good sermon, and that there was no heresy in it. But this information did not satisfy the bishop, who had received another character of Shaxton, living now, it seems, in

He is master of St. Giles's Hospital. Cok. Instit. P. iv. p. 256.

Vol. I. p. 240, and 340. Book iii. No 8. and No. 29.

Shaxton in trouble from the Bishop of Norwich. p. 354.

Letter of Bishop Nix extant in Fox, first edit. p. 181.

1536. his diocese ; wherefore he sent an order from Hoxne, to one that officiated as the bishop's chancellor, at a visitation in Norwich (in the room of Pells, then absent) that he should give the Prior of Westacre his oath upon a book ; and upon that oath to inquire, whether Shaxton had taught to any of his brethren, that is, the friars, any erroneous opinion or not. The said bishop likewise bad one Ralph Cantrel, lately at Cambridge, to inquire of the vicechancellor, and of others, of the demeanor of Shaxton : which Cantrel reported to the bishop, that he was sore suspected of many ; and that he had made a sermon *ad clerum*, on Ash-Wednesday, 1531, where the vicechancellor took him in two points.

The first was, “ Quod malum et periculosum est publicè asserere aut prædicare purgatorium non esse. Credere tamen purgatorium non esse nullo pacto est damnabile :” that is, “ That it is evil and dangerous publicly to assert or preach, that there is no purgatory ; yet to believe there is no purgatory, is by no means damnable.”

The second was, “ Impossibile est hominem (se) continere, aut castum esse,” &c. that is, “ That it is impossible for a man to be continent, or chaste, although he mortify himself with fasting, is diligent in his prayers, and abstain and refrain from company, sight and thoughts, unless God give (grace).” Another saying he then had, “ That in his daily celebration of mas, he offered continual prayers to God, that celibacy should be wholly taken away from the clergy, and that wedlock might be granted and permitted them.”

And from  
the vice-  
chancellor  
of Cam-  
bridge.

For these passages in his *Clerum*, he was convented before the heads, but he stood in them stedfastly. So that Mr. Vicechancellor, Dr. Watson, with the assistance of Dr. Wilson and Edmunds, had much ado to bring him to forsake them ; which, at length, he did at their persuasion, and to avoid open abjuration. And, upon this, the vicechancellor drew up an



oath for him especially ; but which not only he, but all others, that that year proceeded, did openly and solemnly swear. The which oath was as followeth : 1536.

“ You shall swear by the holy contents of this book, that you shall not keep, hold, maintain and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of Wickliff, Hus, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy ; and that ye shall keep, hold, maintain and defend, generally and especially, all such articles and points, as the catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth at this time ; and that ye shall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies and laudable customs, as the said church of Rome taketh them, and alloweth them, and approveth them ; and that you shall namely and specially hold as the said catholic church holdeth in all these articles, wherein lately hath been controversy, dissension and error : as, concerning faith and works, grace and free-will, of sin in a good work, of the sacrifice of the New Testament, of the priesthood, of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of baptism and Christian liberty, of monastic vows, of fasting and choice of meats, of the single life of priests, of the church, of the canonical books, of the firm holding of matters not exprest in the scriptures, of the inerrability of general councils in faith and manners, of the power of the church to make laws, of the church’s sacraments and their efficacy, of the power of excommunication conferred upon the church, of punishing hereticks, of the sacrifice of the mas, of purgatory, of worshipping saints and praying to them, of worshipping the images of saints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical precepts and councils ; and likewise of all other articles, wherein controversy or dissension hath been in the church before this day.”

An oath imposed upon all that commenced degrees of divinity in that university.

p. 355.

This oath was an effectual bar for keeping out all from commencing in divinity, but such as were round papists. But I suppose it lasted but this year, and was not required the next, when Simon Heyns was

1536. vicechancellor, a man of other principles. But thus was Shaxton then hampered, when he stood for his degree of doctor.

It was soon after this that he had bought certain good books, and, for the better promoting of the knowledge of true religion, had conveyed and dispersed them in the diocese of Norwich (where now it seems he lived, either as a friar or a curate) for which, especially hearing the former report of him, the bishop took him up and kept him a prisoner; and gave commandment to Richard Hill, the bishop's jailer, to keep him sure, resolving that he should abjure before he departed. This was in June, 1531. And so jealous was he of Shaxton, that he swore by God's mother, that he feared he had burnt Abel, meaning Bilney, and let Cain go. But these depressions and sufferings of Shaxton made way for him not long after to preferment, being made Master of Gonwel and Caius College, of which house he was Queen Anne's chaplain, and a prebendary of Sarum, and soon after bishop of the said church.

But leaving Shaxton, I shall proceed to make some remarks upon another person in these times, that remained more steady and constant in his profession.

p. 556.

## CHAP. XLVI.

Palmer a Martyr. Some story of him. Thackham's concern therein. Boulton's sufferings. A relation of the taking of Palmer.

Palmer, his learning and writings. **A**MONG those many good men, that suffered fire this year for the sake of pure religion, one was Julins, or Julius Palmer, a young man, once of Magdalen College, Oxford, lately schoolmaster of Reading. He writ a poem, intituled, *Epicedium* (for he was a man of florid learning) against one Morwin, who had made verses in praise of the Bishop of Winchester, de-

ceased. He wrote also certain English rhymes, by way of satire, against some persecutors unnamed. Also Arguments, both in Latin and English, against the popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny. Some, that pretended to be his friends, and favourers of the gospel, and had entered into a familiar acquaintance with him, proved false, and dealt Judas-like with him in his absence; having rifled his study, and these and other his writings. And being minded to settle a friend of their's, whose name was Thomas Thackham, in this school, threatened him, that unless he would depart, and leave the school, they would shew his writings to the council. Whereupon he fled, leaving in their hands his stuff, and one quarter's stipend for teaching unpaid, as appeared by a letter of his, writ but eight days before his death. Afterwards, coming to Reading, he was seized there, and burnt at Newbury not long after. 1556. Betrayed. Burnt.

It was also charged upon this Thackham, that he with Cox, Downer and Gately, made one Hampton an instrument, by whose practice they might sooner bring their mischievous purposes to pass. The said Thackham, that succeeded him in the school, was charged deeply with treachery towards him in Fox's first edition; who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being then a minister in Northampton, was exceedingly offended herewith, and did endeavour to clear himself by a writing published. He came also to Mr. Fox, and deposed with deep oaths and protestations, appealing to God and to his judgment upon his soul, if it were not false that was informed against him. This made Fox, in his second edition of Acts and Monuments, to be more sparing of Thackham's name, yet seeming to make doubt of his integrity; and therefore left the information to stand as it did before. But the information remaining in the new edition, much whereof was known to reflect upon him, he wrote an answer in the year 1572, which he styled, "An Answer to a Slander, untruly reported Thackham vindicates himself, being charged with treachery towards Palmer.

1556. by Mr. Fox, in a certain Book, intituled, The Second Volume of the Ecclesiastical History, containing the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs; which was brought unto him, as it may be supposed, by some uncharitable and malicious slanderer against Thomas Thackham, Minister; whereby it will appear unto the gentle Reader, both how much the Writer of the History hath been abused, and how wrongfully the said Thomas Thackham hath been slandered."

p 357.  
The Reply  
thereto.

This book received a reply, intituled, "A Reply to an indiscreet Answer made by one T. Thackham, sometime of Reading, against the Story of Julius Palmer, Martyr." Thackham, in his book, did endeavour to disprove several circumstances in Fox's relation concerning Palmer; as, that he was not taken at the Cardinal's Hat, but in another place; not in his house at night, but in the afternoon; not in a chamber, but taken climbing over a wall, and such like. But Thackham's credit went but a little way, being a scandalous man (a maid being with child by him) and one that shrunk back from religion in Queen Mary's days; though, in the beginning of her reign, he professed in the pulpit that he would seal his doctrine with his blood, and stand unto it, even to death. Having renounced religion, he said, he would never be minister again; yet, in that queen's reign, he brought into the church certain leaves of the old popish service, and he, with others, did help to patch together the books, and to sing the first Latin even-song in the church of St. Laurence; and those circumstances before mentioned, concerning Mr. Palmer, which Thackham would so confidently prove to be false, were, upon examination of the woman and ostler, that lived at the Cardinal's Hat, and others in Reading, attested and avowed to be true. And this for the credit of Fox's History.

Thackham  
faulty.

Thackham  
harboured  
the good  
Lady Vane

Yet, not to defraud Thackham of his praise, if we may take his own word for it, in the time of persecution, he kept secretly with him, one-and-twenty weeks, the Lady Vane; who for her zeal, virtue,



religion, godly life, and especially bountifulness towards the poor brethren, deserved as great commendation as any one man or woman living at that time: for whose cause, immediately after her departure, at the commandment of Sir Francis Inglefield, one of the queen's privy council, and master of the wards and liveries, his study was broken up, and his books taken away by one Clement Burdet, parson of Inglefield; and he put in close prison ten days at Inglefield, and after sent prisoner to Reading, to the mayor's house, where neither wife nor any other might speak with him. He was a friend also to one John Bolton, sometime of Reading, who, lying in jail here for religion, grew mad, and in his raving fits railed upon Queen Mary; who thereupon was cruelly tormented in the said prison. Which Bolton becoming sober, and of a better mind, Thackham took pity upon the man, because he seemed to be of good religion, and besought Mr. Edmunds, then mayor, that he would stand his good master, and take some charitable way for his deliverance; which, after a long suit, was granted, upon condition he would put in two sureties beside himself, that should be bound in five pounds apiece, that he should appear the next sessions. But when, by reason of the times, his very friends durst not become sureties for such a traitor and rank heretic, as Bolton was then thought to be, he desired the mayor to take him alone with Bolton, which the mayor gently granted: and so this poor man was set at liberty and departed. But when the sessions came, Bolton left Thackham to pay the forfeiture. Something more of the story of this Bolton, and how he affected to have his sufferings recorded in print, may be read in a letter written by John Moyar, in the Catalogue. No. LVIII. And these merits Thackham urged in his own behalf.

John Bolton mad,  
imprisoned

However, I will not here omit to recite the manner of seizing of Palmer, as it is related by Thackham in his book, though different from what

p. 358.

1536. came to Fox's hands from his informers, as written by him.

Upon the first edition of Fox's book, which, I think, was about the year 1565 or 66. Thackham and others being severely made mention of, as betrayers of Palmer, Thackham then a minister in Northampton, Sir Robert Lane, and Mr. Yelverton, a counsellor of the law, and recorder of that city, often had told him, and divers of his friends sent him word, that they marvelled that he would neither confess his fault, nor answer it, if he were innocent. Some gave him counsel to have an action of law against Mr. Fox, for slandering him. Some said Mr. Fox was not in fault, but that Thackham should answer the slanderer. Whereunto he agreed. So, making a preface of honour and great respect for Fox, "Blessed be God (saith he) for him, I reverence him as a most excellent jewel of our age, and account of him, as of a principal pillar of religion:" he proceeds to give this account of this matter.

Thackham's relation of the taking of Palmer.

"Palmer had the freeschool of Reading, of one Sir John Moor, vicar of St. Giles, in Queen Maries time, which he taught diligently; behaved himself honestly, came to church many Sundays and holydays with his scholars, and sat in St. John's Chapel; lived so quietly among them, that, I dare swear, he had not one enemy in the town. This Palmer taught a son of one John Ridges, the queen's servant, and one of the stable; which boy, either for his negligence in learning, either for some shrewd turn, he beat in the school. Ridges thinking he had given his son more correction than he deserved, in great rage came into the school, and boxed Palmer about the ears, and so departed. Palmer taking this grievously, that he had so much misused him, took a pitchfork of his hostess, and lay three or four days in wait in the vasterne, beneath one John Ryder's garden, to have done him some displeasure, as he went to a close that Ridges had toward Causam Bridge, but could at no time meet with him. After

that he had thus watched Ridges, he told me how he had done, and what he had purposed. I told him, that Ridges was too good for him, willing him not to seek to be revenged of him, but to tell the maior and the masters of the town. No, said Palmer, for by that means I shall never prevail; for he can make mo friends than I. One fortnight after Palmer came to me and said, that he would give up his school, if he might have reasonably for the patent, which hung but upon the life of one old man, called Cox. I told Palmer, that since Queen Mary came to the crown, I was put from my vicarage there, and was constrained to labour sore for my living: for, as it is well known, I went every week fourscore miles save four on foot to buy yarn, and sell it again at Reading; of which tedious journeys and painful travail, I waxed weary. 1556.

“Wherefore I said, that if in time to come he were disposed to leave the school, so that I could get the good will of the town to keep it again, I would give him with reason for the patent. Palmer said, that he was content, that I should have it before another, if he did yield it up, and so we parted for that time.

“A month after he came to me again, and said, p. 359. that he was come to be as good as his promise, which was, to grant me his good will to have the school before any man. I thanked him, and demanded of him what he would require for the patent. He said, I should do three things for him: the one was, that I should give him forty shillings in his purse: the other was, that I should give him four pounds to buy him apparel, or else be surety for as much apparel as came to four pounds: the third was, that I should provide him some place where he might teach a gentleman's child, and live to his conscience. I answered him again, that I must require likewise three things at his hands. First, that I might procure the good wills of the worshipful of the town to becom the schoolmaster again. Secondarily, that I

1556.

might have a time to procure such a place for him, where he might live safely, quietly, and to his conscience. Thirdly, that he would take forty shillings in hand, and the residue at two convenient times, and therewith buy that he lacked himself: which Palmer granted with good will.

“Then rode I first to Horsington, in Buckinghamshire, to one Mr. Rafe Lee, which had one son, whom I had taught before, and told him, that if he would have a schoolmaster with him to teach his son, Edward Lee, I could provide him of an honest, quiet, sober and learned yong man. Whereof Master Lee was glad, and requested me so to do; and he would compound with him for such a stipend as he should reasonably require. I returned to Reading, and told Palmer what I had don, and how I had sped; wherewith Palmer was content. Then we appointed a day to repair to the gentleman, and to bargain for his stipend. And so we did, whom Master Lee and his wife liked very well. Then after we were returned unto Reading again, I went unto Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Edward Butler, Mr. Thomas Turner, Mr. Aldworth, my very friends, declaring to them, that Palmer would leave the school, and dwell with a gentleman; and desired them that I might have their good wills to teach it again; for I was weary of playing the packman, and of my tedious journeys to Salisbury weekly; who answered, that they thought no les, and that I should have their good wills to keep the school.

“This don, Palmer and I came both to Mr. Edmunds, steward of Reading, to have our writings made. And when it was agreed, that I should pay Palmer forty shillings in hand, and enter into bands to pay him the other four pounds at two other times, by even portions, and if the said sums were not answered according to covenants, that then it should be lawful for Palmer to resume his patent, and enjoy the same, as in his former estate. It was also agreed upon, that Mr. Edmunds should keep the patent



and resignation, and all other writings, until the last 1556.  
forty shillings were payd.

“ And thus I entred to kepe the school, and Palmer went to Mr. Lee’s to dwell, and there continued. And after Palmer had received his last payment, Mr. Edmunds delivered me the patent, resignation, and all other writings. But albeit Palmer was well, and where he might have lived quietly, yet (as it is well known) he could not tary ten days from his hostess, but often resorted unto her, so that he grew to be evil thought of; and her husband began to mistrust him, albeit, I think, he gave never any such cause. But so often resorted Palmer from Horsington to his hostess, that her husband began to suspect him. Then was a letter intercepted, which she wrote to him; which being seen, her husband kept. And at Palmer’s next return to Reading (as it was told me) by the cook’s means, his hostess’s husband, Palmer was brought before the maior, and committed to the cage. At which time whatsoever the slanderer hath said of me, I was not at home, neither knew I any thing thereof until five days after it was done, God I take to record. Then was Palmer brought forth of the cage, and warned by the maior to come no more at his hostess; and was let return again to Horsington, where he dwelled with Mr. Lee: whether his master knew of his trouble or not, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding this punishment and warning given him by the maior, to come no more to his hostess, Palmer came to his hostess again on Tuesday, as I think, about ten of the clock in the forenoon. And, as I sat at dinner, he sent his hostess’s sister, a little wench, for me to come and speak with him. By twelve of the clock I came to him. And when I was come, he said unto me, Mr. Thackham, I think ye have heard, how I have been used here of late by the means of my host, who, as I think, is persuaded that I resort to his house for some evil purpose. I have a letter here, which I have written to Mr. Edmunds, wherein I have de-

p. 360.

1556.

clared, how I have been abused, and wherein; and have therein so cleared myself, that when he hath read it, I doubt not, but he will think better of me, than at this present he doth: which letter I beseech you to deliver for me unto him.

“ I answered, Mr. Palmer, I think it better that ye deliver it yourself. Nay (said Palmer) he so reviled me when I was here last, that I know he cannot abide me: but by your means, and at your request, he will receive my letter and read it. Herein you shall do me a great pleasure. Mr. Palmer (said I) if the delivery of your letter may stand you in stead, I will carry it unto the maior, and further do you what pleasure I can. So I took the letter, being fast sealed with the superscription, *To Mr. Edmunds*. He sat in his study, writing an obligation: to whom I said, that Mr. Palmer had requested me to bring a letter, beseeching him to read the same, wherein he should perceive how innocent he was of all that his host, or any other had layd to his charge. Well, (said Mr. Edmunds) lay it down, and I will look upon it anon; and so I departed. Within one half hour Mr. Edmunds sent for me again. When I came, he said, Mr. Thackham, Palmer hath writ here no such matter as ye told me of, but doth rail at the queen and her laws; I am her majesty's officer, and may not concele, neither will. Sir (said I) if he have overshot himself in any thing, I beseech you take him not at the worst. Well (said Mr. Edmunds) go your way, I may not conceal it, neither will I. And as I was departing out of his wicket, he whistled, as his manner was, for one of his sergeants. I went home to my school, where I walked marvelling what would come of it. So soon as I was gon, the maior, Mr. Edmunds, commanded the serjeant to go to the cook's house, and call Palmer to him. When the serjeant knocked at the cook's door, his hostess's sister espied him, and told Palmer who was at the door. Palmer hearing that an officer was come for him, conveyed himself out of the kitchin door into

the backside, and so into his hostess's garden. The sergeant at the door saw him go that way, and thrust open the door and followed him, and took him at the end of his hostess's garden, about to leap over a wall, and brought him to the maior. 1556.

“ It happened, that very same day, there sat at the Bear in Reading, Dr. Jeffrey, the parson of Inglefield, with divers other commissioners. When the sergeant was come with Palmer, the maior commanded him to go with him: when Palmer followed, not knowing, as I think, whither he would bring him. The maior went straightway to the Bear, where the commissioners were in a parlor upon the right hand as ye come into the inn. When the maior was come to the commissioners, he declared unto them how the man, whom he brought, had sent him a letter, wherein was contained matter which he would not conceal, and so he delivered the letter to them: and then the commissioners willed him to sit down at the table's end, which is next to the street. And when the maior was sat down, they asked who brought him the letter. The maior answered, one Mr. Thackham, their schoolmaster. I pray you, Mr. Maior (saith Dr. Jeffrey) let him be sent for. So the maior commanded his sergeant to go for me. When the sergeant came for me, I was walking in the school. The serjeant said, that the commissioners commanded me to come to them. I went with him. When I came before them, Dr. Jeffrey, as I think, or some other of them, asked me whether I delivered the letter to the maior, or not. I said, that I did deliver the letter to him. They asked me, whether Palmer and I did devise it, and which of us wrote it. I answered, that it is to be thought, that I would answer, that I did neither write it, nor know of the writing thereof. But, Sir, said I, I will not answer the question; let this man, meaning Palmer that stood by me, answer how it was.

“ Palmer then immediately answered, Sir, I wrote it, and I will stand to it; and as for this man, he

1556.

neither wrote it, neither knew what was in it, but delivered it to Mr. Maior, at my request. Then said the parson of Inglefield to me, Mr. Thackham, I wish that ye teach *grammar*, and let divinity alone.

“ By this time was Welch, the keeper of the prison, come into the parlor, and was I bid depart: where I left Palmer talking with them stoutly. But when I was against one Mr. Barn’s door, I looked back and saw Palmer coming with the keeper of the prison. The same day Palmer was committed, the keeper came to me, and much lamented Palmer’s trouble, and said, that he, as he was much bound to him for teaching his son, when he was schoolmaster, so he would now be glad to shew him all the favour he might. But, saith he, Mr. Thackham, you heard what charge I had to keep him so close that nobody should come at him. I prayed him to shew him all the favour he might: which he promised to do. And I gave the keeper three shillings to give him: and at three sundry times besides, I sent him three shillings at a time. And after that day, when I looked back, and saw him coming with the keeper, I never saw Palmer, neither came he out of prison, so far as I know, any more, before he was sent to Newbery, where he was arraigned, condemned and burned.

“ He that had Palmer to Newbery was a weaver with a black beard; who became a sumner, and went after to dwell at Salisbury: he told my wife, that Palmer being at the stake, requested this sumner to have him commended to Mr. Thackham, and to pray him to forgive him the twelve shillings that he owed him, which I lent him when he lay in prison: for in consideration that I had a benefit at his hand, I thought it my duty the rather to help him in that extremity. Thus hast thou heard, gentle reader, how I dealt with Palmer, how his trouble began; how he was used, and by what occasions. Which if you compare with that the rayler hath caused Mr. Fox to write, thou shalt not find one sentence true.



“ From Northampton, the xxxth of January, the year of our salvation, 1572. 1556.

By me, THOMAS THACKHAM.”

This relation of the occasion and story of Palmer's troubles, was put by Thackham into Fox's hands for his own vindication; and Fox sent it to one Thomas Perry, a grave minister in Gloucestershire, desiring him to inquire diligently into the truth of this matter; who returned Fox this answer, which I do insert, to shew what little opinion good men had of Thackham, and withal to shew Fox's commendable diligence, and inquiry into truth.

“ *Right Reverend and beloved in the Lord,*

“ I have received your letters together with Thackham's answer; which I perceive you have well perused, and do understand his crafty and ungodly dealing therein, that I may not say, fond and foolish: for he doth not deny the substance of the story, but only seeketh to take advantage by some circumstances of the time and place; wherein yet may be ther was an oversight, for lack of perfect instructions, or good remembrance at the beginning. He confesseth that he delivered a letter of Palmer's own hand to the maior of Reading, which was the occasion of his imprisonment and death; only he excuseth himself by transferring the crime *a seipso in martyrem*. Briefly, his whole end and purpose is to give the world to understand, that the martyr was guilty, as well of incontinency, as also of wilful casting away of himself. O! impudent man. The wise and godly reader may easily smell his stinking heart. He careth not, though he out-face the godly martyr, and the whole volume of martyrs to save (as he thinketh) his own honesty and good name. Howbeit I cannot, but God will confound him to his utter shame, and reveal his cloked hypocrisy, to the defence of his blessed martyr, and the whole story. Though many of them be dead, that gave instructions

1556. in times past, and now could have born witness, yet  
 thanks be to God, ther want not alyve, that can and  
 p. 363. wyl testify the trueth herein to his confusion. No  
 dylygence shall be spared in the matter, as shortly,  
 I trust, you shall understand. In the mean while  
 Thackham nede not be importunate for an answer.  
 He reporteth himself to the whole town of Reading;  
 therefore he must geve us some space. The God of  
 truth defend you, and all other that maintain his  
 truth, from the venomous poyson of lyars. ‘Vale in  
 ‘Christo, qui ecclesiæ suæ te diu servet incolumem.’  
 From Beverton in Glocestershire, May vi.

Yours in the Lord,

THOMAS PERRYE, Minister.

“To the Right Reverend in God, Mr John  
 Fox, preacher of the gospel in London,  
 be thes dd. at Mr. Daies the printer,  
 dwelling over Aldersgate beneath St.  
 Martins.”

I have been too long upon this matter. But I  
 have done it for the vindication of Mr. Fox’s excellent  
 History, and for the further clearing of the informa-  
 tions which he received and believed, so as to induce  
 him to commit them into his book. Upon inquiries  
 made at Reading, and examinations of matters re-  
 lating to Palmer’s business, and Thackham’s book, it  
 appeared, that he was defective of truth, and Fox’s  
 account, for the main, true. A writing of this in-  
 No. LIX. sition I place in the Catalogue, for a farewell of this  
 matter.

## CHAP. XLVII.

Various sects among the professors of religion. John Clement,  
 prisoner for religion. Protestants’ confessions of faith. Care  
 taken of the prisoners. Parish priests.

**T**HERE were now abundance of sects and dan-  
 gerous doctrines, whose maintainers shrouded them-

selves under the professors of the gospel. Some 1556.  
denied the godhead of Christ, some denied his man-  
hood; others denied the godhead of the Holy Ghost, Difference  
original sin, the doctrine of predestination and free of opinions  
election, the descent of Christ into hell (which the among  
protestants here generally held), the baptism of professors,  
infants. Some condemned the use of all indifferent  
things in religion; others held free-will, man's righ-  
teousness, and justification by works—doctrines which  
the protestants, in the times of King Edward, for the  
most part, disowned. By these opinions a scandal  
was raised upon the true professors: therefore it was  
thought fit now by the orthodox, to write and publish  
summary confessions of their faith, to leave behind  
them when they were dead; wherein they should dis-  
claim these doctrines, as well as all popish doctrines  
whatsoever.

This was done by one John Clement this year, The pro-  
lying a prisoner in the King's Bench for religion, in- testant  
titled, "A Confession and Protestation of the Chris- confession  
tian Faith." In which it appears, the protestants of J. Cle-  
ment.  
thought fit, notwithstanding the condemnation and p. 364.  
burning of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Ro-  
gers, Saunders, and Bradford, for heretics, to own  
their doctrine as agreeable to the word of God, and  
them as such as sealed the same with their own blood.  
This confession may be looked upon as an account of  
the belief of the professors in those days; and, to  
such as desire to be acquainted with such things, not  
unacceptable: transcriptions and copies thereof were  
taken, and so dispersed for the use of good men, one  
whereof is in my hands. This person also wrote a  
pious epistle, out of the King's Bench, March 25, His epistle.  
1556, expecting death every day, to his neighbours  
among whom he chiefly conversed, namely, those that  
dwelt in Nutfield, Merstham, Chaldon, and there-  
about, in the county of Surrey; wherein he reproved  
those that were present at the idolatrous mass, and  
thought themselves faultless, doing it out of civil

1556. poliey; and exhorted them to hold fast their profession, and to use no other means to avoid the violence of the persecutors but by flight, which he recommended to them. I have put this epistle, with the foresaid confession, into the Catalogue. Fox saith little of this person, but that he died in the prison of the King's Bench, and was a wheelwright.

No. LX.  
LXI.

Laymen  
read and  
exhort in  
the private  
assemblies.

This Clement I esteem to be one of that sort of laymen, that, in the private assemblies of the professors, in these hard times, did perform the office of minister among them; for when the learned preachers and ministers were most of them burnt or fled (as they were by the middle of this reign), and the flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, tradesmen, or others, endued with parts and some learning, used, in that distress, to read the scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to comfort and establish them in the confession of Christ to the death. Such an one was that excellent, pious man and confessor, John Careless, who was a weaver, of Coventry, and this Clement a wheelwright; who, in his epistle, styles himself, *an unprofitable servant of the Lord*: and, speaking of the warnings of the preachers that were then dead, and had confirmed their sayings with their blood, saith thus of himself: "I myself, when I was with you, did, with my simple learning and knowledge, the best I could, to call you from those things that will surely bring the wrath of God upon you, except ye repent in time, and turn to the Lord with your whole heart; but how the preachers' warnings, and my poor admonitions, have been, and be regarded, God and you do know." Clement's burning was prevented by his death in prison, being buried in the back-side of the King's Bench, in a dunghill, June 25, where, two days before, was one Adheral buried, who likewise died in the same prison, and in the same



cause. And in the same prison and cause, five days after died John Careless, and was contumeliously buried where the two others were. 1556.

Thirteen persons were this year burnt together at Stratford Bow, who also subscribed a confession. Another confession signed by thirteen martyrs. The occasion whereof was this: Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, had publicly, in the pulpit at Paul's Cross, the Sunday after they were condemned, defamed them, by declaring, "That he had talked with them, and that they were all of different opinions; that there were sixteen of them, and that they were of sixteen sundry opinions." For this was one of the matters the Romanists used to boast of then, as well as of latter times, namely, their unity in doctrine, and the dissensions of protestants. In vindication, therefore, of themselves, these good men, before their death, made a declaration of their faith, which is printed in Fox, and signed by sixteen: for so many were condemned by Bonner to be burnt; but Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for the saving the lives of three of them, who had, it seems, recanted, and promised to submit to penance; which dispensation, being worth observing, is in the Catalogue. But besides this confession signed by the sixteen, there was another signed by those thirteen that were burnt; which, being not printed in Fox's book, I have from a MS. transmitted into the same place, which agrees much with Clement's confession before said. p. 365. Pa. 1739. No. LXII. LXIII.

A report also was spread of divers honest professors, that were in the bishop's Cole-house, that they were all of different opinions: but it was false; and one of them, named Stephen Cotton, wrote a letter to his brother, John Cotton, to rectify that lie invented of them, in these words: "Albeit I do perceive by the letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so are we of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to that good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate. Be you most assured, good brother in the Lord Jesus, that we are all of one mind, one faith. The professors slandered for their different judgments. Mart. Letters.

1556. one assured hope in our Lord Jesus; whom, I trust, we altogether, with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily pray unto for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives; and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil-speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, and never let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind." Thus Cotton.—Thus we see how industriously they disowned all Arians, Anabaptists, and such like, who, being not of the Roman faith, the papists would fain have joined them all with the protestants, to disgrace and disparage the holy profession.

Care taken  
for the pri-  
soners of  
Christ, by  
well-dis-  
posed per-  
sons.

Those that were now in durance for their consciences were many, and the prisons and counters were replenished with them; and the hunger, cold, pain, and hardships they endured, were very deplorable; insomuch that many died in prison, notwithstanding the great care that was taken of the imprisoned and condemned, by sending oftentimes to them provisions and things needful; and likewise pious men came to strengthen and comfort them by their counsel and discourses, and prayers, and alms. One, and the chief, indeed, of these charitable visitors, was

Augustin  
Bernher, a  
great visi-  
tor of them.

Augustin Bernher, a servant and friend of old Latimer, that was extraordinary diligent in this office, in conveying letters and relief from and to the prisoners, to his great danger; for the adversaries having had notice of him, laid diligent wait to take him. So that John Careless, being one of those now in prison, wrote to him to be circumspect of himself: "That he did not disallow, but praised and commended his hearty boldness in putting himself in press, when any one of God's people needed his help in any point: but yet he would not have him thrust himself in danger (which his zeal and charity made him do),

when he could do them no good, or at least when they might well enough spare that good he would do for them: for if he should then chance to be taken, he should not only be no comfort unto them, but also a great discomfort, adding sorrow unto their sorrow. He perswaded him not (he said) to absent himself from any place where his presence of necessity was required; for in all such places he knew God would preserve him, as he had hitherto wonderfully done. Or if it should please him to permit him in any such place to be taken, he knew God would sweetly comfort his conscience with this consideration, that it was his very providence and appointment, that he should be taken up for a witness of God's truth: but he could not allow (he said) nor be contended, that he should rashly or negligently thrust himself into the place where his wicked enemies continually haunted, and laid wait for him, for no necessity of himself, nor of God's people required. And that if any needed his godly counsel, he might write unto them that which he thought good; and that now and then a godly letter would do as much good as his company." Such visitors had these poor prisoners, who did not only bring them relief in their needs, but came and sate with them when they were in their stocks and dungeons, and by holy discourse administered comfort to them there. 1556.

It was now about the middle of the queen's reign, and popery was completely settled again, and the mass celebrated every where, and the mass-singers, who boggled at the work at first, went currently and jollily on with it in their several parish churches, and became great enemies and informers against those that frequented it not; for the popish priests and curates, in the change of religion, went generally along with the stream, how little soever they liked to see the English liturgy changed for a Latin mass, and a reasonable service thrown by, for a superstitious, unintelligible worship: for most of them knew the truth well enough, and upon their first conformity

Parish  
priests and  
curates.

1556. with the old religion, would privately, among their friends, freely confess it; but after some time had passed over their heads, and a year or two's use of the mass had made it familiar to them, they were very well reconciled to it, and even zealous in its behalf. Which occasioned Clement, before mentioned, in his epistle to his friends and neighbours in Surrey, to give them this warning of their priests: "Beware of them that should be the shepherds and pastors, for they deceive you, and are become very wolves. They knew the truth, and privily would confess it; but now see if they wax not worse and worse. And this is the just judgment of God, because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were they thankful; and therefore hath God given them up to their own hearts' lusts. But it is a just plague of God to them, that had the truth offered them, and regarded it not, to send them strong delusions to believe lyes, that they all may be damned that believed not the truth. Dear friends, follow not their examples."

p. 367.  
Presentations to  
vacant  
churches.  
Convention,  
Rymer,  
p. 437.

Presentations to vacant churches, made by the king and queen this year, were to the number of one hundred and nine. And again, the same year, twenty-one more; again, the same year, seventy-eight more: as they are particularly set down by Mr. Rymer, in his Extracts from the Records of those times. And of these, in the city of London, the parishes following had these clerks presented to them:

Vacant  
livings in  
London.

To Richard Papeworth was granted the rectory of St. Mary de Axe.

To William Marrel was granted the rectory of St. Lawrence.

To William Collingwood the rectory of St. Margaret Moyses. To Richard Archebald the rectory of St. Laurence Pounteney, with the church of All Saints, Minori.

To Rob. Rogers the rectory of St. Nicholas, Cold Abbey.



To Will. Williams the rectory of All Saints in Muro. 1556.

To Edward Stevenson the rectory of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane.

To Henry Atkinson the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's.

To Clement Erington the vicarage of St. John's, Walbrook.

To which let me add, in the year 1554: To William Chedsey the church of Alhallows, Bread-street, whose former incumbent was Sampson, a learned divine and zealous protestant, who was glad to fly, and afterwards writ a very Christian and pastoral letter to his flock there.

To John Brabant, St. Michael's, Crooked-lane.

Besides, in the year before, viz. 1553, the first year of the queen's reign, were two hundred and six presentations made by her to livings; the former incumbents being either turned out for being married men, or not complying with the introduced popish religion; or having fled away for the fear of their lives, or of acting contrary to their consciences.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

A barbarous murder committed by Lord Stourton.

**I**N the latter end of this year, in the month of March, was Charles Lord Stourton hanged at Salisbury, with four of his servants, in other places, for a barbarous murder of Mr. Hartgil and his son, two gentlemen of Kilmington, in Somersetshire. They had been, out of a shew of kindness, and of making an end of a long quarrel, invited to meet that lord; and so were set upon by a great many of his servants, bound, knocked on the head, their throats cut, and buried fifteen feet deep in his house. Our historians do not relate more of this murder; but it hath so many circumstances of baseness in it, and other matters worthy taking notice of, that I shall give a more

Lord  
Stourton  
hanged.

1556. particular account of the first original, and the progress of it, from an authentic MS. written about the time :

The occasion of his quarrel with Hartgyl.  
Foxii MSS.  
p. 368.

“ In the time of King Edward VI. William Lord Stourton, having charge of one of the king’s peeces nigh Bulloyn, died. Shortly after whose death, Charles Lord Stourton, son and heir of the said Lord William Stourton, came to Kylnington, in the county of Somerset, to the house of one William Hartgyl, Esquire, where Dame Elizabeth, late wife to the said Lord William Stourton, and mother to the said Lord Charles Stourton, did sojourn ; and then and there was earnestly in hand with the said William Hartgyl, to be a mean unto the said Dame Elizabeth, that she should enter into bond to him the said Lord Charles, in a great sum of mony, that she should never marry ; which the said William Hartgyl refused to do, unless the said Lord Charles Stourton would assign out some good yearly portion for his said mother to live upon. In discoursing of this matter, the said Lord Charles Stourton fell utterly out with the said William Hartgyl.

He and his men beset Hartgyl’s house.

“ And shortly after, upon the Whitsunday in the morning, the said Lord Charles Stourton came to Kylmington Church, with a great many men with bows and guns ; and when he came almost to the church-door, John Hartgyl, son of the said William Hartgyl, being a tall lusty gentleman, being told of the said Lord Stourton’s coming, went out of the church, and drew his sword, and ran to his father’s house, adjoining fast to the church-yard side. Divers arrows were shot at him in his passing, but he was not hurt. His father, the said William Hartgyl, and his wife, being old folks, were driven to go up into the tower of the church, with two or three of their servants, for safeguard of their lives. When the said John Hartgyl was come into his father’s house, he took his long bow and arrows, and bent a cross-bow, and charged a gun, and caused a woman to carry the cross-bow and gun after him, and himself with his

long bow came forth, and drave away the said Lord Charles and all his men from the house, and from about the church, so not one of all the company tarried, saving half a score that were entred into the church, amongst whom one was hurt with hail-shot in the shoulder by the said John Hartgyl. And when all that were abroad were fled, the said John Hartgyl asked his father, what he should do? Unto whom his father answered and said, *Take your horse and ride up to the court, and tell the honourable council how I am used.* Whereupon, when the said John Hartgyl had taken order to provide meat and drink to be pulled up into the tower of the church, to relieve them that were there, he rode away. And the Monday, towards evening, he told the honourable council how his father was dealt withal. Whereupon they sent down Sir Thomas Speake, Knt. the high sheriff of Somerset, not only to deliver the said captives, but also to bring up with him the said Lord Charles Stourton; whom, when he came, the said honourable council committed to the Fleet, where he tarried not long.

1556.  
Hartgyl's  
son drives  
them all  
away.

Hartgyl's  
son goes up  
to the  
council of  
K. Edward.

“ It is to be remembered, that as soon as John Hartgyl was ridden toward London, to the honourable council, the Lord Stourton's men returned to the church of Kylmington, and about Hartgyl's house, again; and so continued until the coming down of the said sheriff, which was the Wednesday in the Whitsun-week, during all which time the said William Hartgyl and his men were kept in the church tower. Mary, the said Hartgyl's wife, was permitted to go home the Whitsunday towards night. In the mean time the said Lord Stourton's men went to a pasture of the said Hartgyl's, and there took up his own riding-gelding, being then well worth eight pounds, and carried him to Stourton park-pale, and there shot him with a cross-bow, and killed the gelding; noising abroad that the said William Hartgyl had that night been hunting in the said park upon the gelding. Thus the said Lord Stourton continued his malice still, during

In his ab-  
sence they  
come again

p. 369.

Their out-  
rages.

1556. all King Edward's reign, and with violence and force took from the said William Hartgyl, all the corn and cattle that he could any way come by, which were the said Hartgyl's.

Hartgyl  
complains  
to Queen  
Mary's  
council.

“ When King Edward was dead, the said William Hartgyl and John his son made humble suit to Queen Mary her honourable council for some redress, her majesty lying then at Basing-end, in Hampshire : which said council called the said Lord Stourton and the said William Hartgyl before them ; and there the said Lord Stourton promised, that if the said William Hartgyl, and his son, would come home to his house, and desire his good-will, they should not only have it, but also be restored to their goods and cattle that he had of theirs.

A treache-  
rous act.

“ Whereupon they, trusting his faithful promise made before such presence, took one John Dackcombe, Esquire, with them, to be a witness of their submission ; and when they came nigh Stourton House, in a lane, half a dozen of the Lord Stourton's men rushed forth, and letting Mr. Dackcombe and the said William Hartgyl pass them, stept before the said John Hartgyl, and when he turned his horse to have ridden away homeward again, six other of the said lord's men were there with weapons to stay him ; and so being beset both before and behind, they strake at him, and before he could draw his sword, and get from his horse, they had wounded him in three or four places. Then he got his back to a hedge, and there defended himself as well as he could, albeit they wounded him in the hand, the body, and the legs, and left him for dead : nevertheless, when he had lain so almost half an hour, he came to himself again, and by the help of a cook of the said Lord Stourton's, who took pity upon him, he got upon his horse, and so rode to the house of one Richard Mumpesson, of Maiden Bradley, Gent.”

Lord  
Stourton  
fined and  
imprisoned

This at last became a Star-chamber business ; and in fine, the matter appeared so heinously base on the Lord Stourton's side, that he was fined in a certain



sum to be paid to the Hartgyls, and was imprisoned in the Fleet. From whence he obtained license, upon some pretence, to retire for awhile into his house in the country, where he took his opportunity to murder both these gentlemen in a most horrible manner. For this, having been arraigned and condemned at Westminster, he was sent down to Salisbury, and there hanged in a silken halter; which halter was hung up and shewn in the cathedral church of Salisbury till of late years. This lord thought to bear out himself, because he was a papist, and the Hartgyls favourers of the gospel. "But the queen and council," saith Cooper in his Chronicle, "were much displeased with this act; and therefore, fearing lest the example might take place in others, willed process and judgment to proceed against him."

1536.  
by the  
Star-chamber.

Coop.  
Chron.

But I will now relate more particularly the treacherous, false, and inhumane proceedings of this lord, with these poor gentlemen, as I transcribe them out of my papers :

"Being licensed a little before Christmas, for certain considerations, to repair into his country upon bonds of two thousand pounds, to render himself prisoner again in the Fleet the first day of the term, promising faithfully, in the mean time, to pay unto the Hartgyls such sums of money as he was condemned to pay them; he devised, within three or four days after his arrival at his house of Sturton Caundel, to send certain personages to the said Hartgyls, to declare unto them, that he was ready to pay unto them the said sums of money, according as it was ordered in the Star-chamber, and to commune with them also for a further ending and quieting of all matters between them; for the which purpose he desired a place and time to be appointed of meeting together. The two Hartgyls received this errand with much contentation; and albeit they stood in some fear, that my lord meant not altogether as he had caused to be declared unto them, and therefore stood in much doubt to adventure themselves; yet were they, in the end, content to

The Lord  
Stourton  
sends for  
the Hart-  
gyls trea-  
cherously.

p. 370.

1556. meet with him at Kilmington Church the Monday after the Twelfth-Day. At which day, being the 11th of January, about ten of the clock, the said Lord Sturton came to Kilmington, accompanied with fifteen or sixteen of his own servants, and sundry of his tenants, and some gentlemen and justices, to the number of sixty persons in all.

“ The Hartgyls attending at the place appointed, seeing my said Lord Sturton to be at hand, and to come with so great a company, began very much to dread. My lord came not to the church, but went to the church-house, being forty passes distant from the church-yard. From thence he sent word to the Hartgyls, who yet were in the church, that the church was no place to talk of worldly matters; and therefore he thought the church-house to be a fitter place. The Hartgyls came out of the church, and being within twenty passes of my lord, Old Hartgyl, after due salutation, said, “ My lord, I see many enemies of mine about your lordship, and therefore I am very much afraid to come any nearer.” My lord assured him first himself, and after him Sir James Fitzjames, Chaffyn, and others, emboldened him as much as they could, saying, “ They durst be bound in all they had, they should have no bodily hurt.” Upon this comfort he approached to my lord’s person. And then my lord told him he was come to pay them mony, which he had brought with him, and would have had them to go into the church-house to receive it: but the Hartgyls, fearing ill to be meant unto them, refused to enter into any covered place, the church excepted.

Lord Sturton arrests them of felony.

“ Whereupon some being present thought good, that a table should be set upon the open green; which was done accordingly. My lord laid thereupon a capcase and a purse, as though he had intended to make payment; and calling near unto him the said two Hartgyls, said unto them, that the council had ordered him to pay unto them a certain sum of mony, which they should have every penny.

‘Marry, he would first know them to be true men.’ 1556.  
This was the watch-word that he gave to his men, as he came by the way thitherward. And therewith he p. 371.  
laid hands on them both, saying, *I arrest you of felony.* And therewith his men, which, to the number of ten or twelve, stood purposely round about him, laid hold on them, and, with all cruelty, strait took them both, and by violence thrust and drew them into the church-house; where, with his own hands, he took from them their purses; of the which one of them falling from him, was by a servant of his named Upham, taken up and afterwards brought by him to Stourton, where my lord received it; and finding a turquoise therein, he made thereof a present unto my lady. And then the said Lord Sturton, having in a readiness two blue bands of inkle, which that morning he had purposely brought with him from Sturton, delivered them to his men to bind the said Hartgyls withal in the said church-house. And whilst they were a binding, he gave the said Upham, being one of his men, two great blows, because he went about to pynion them, and did not ty their hands behind them. And to the younger of the Hartgyls, being bound, he gave a great blow in the face, for that he said, the cruelty shewed unto them was too much.

“And coming out of the house, with his naked sword, finding at the door the said young Hartgyl’s wife, first spurned at her, and kicked at her with his spurs, he rent a great piece of one of her hosen from her leg, and finally, he gave her with his said sword such a stroak between the neck and the head, as she fell therewith to the ground as dead; so as in three hours, the company had much ado to keep life in her. Of the which stroke she keepeth yet her bed, and lyeth in such case as God knoweth what will become of her.

And carrieth them away with him bound.

“From thence, being fast bound, he caused them to be conveyed to the parsonage of Kilnington; where all that day they were kept, their arms being

1556. bound behind them, without meat or drink. On the which place, had he not been otherwise persuaded by one of his men, they had that night been murdered.

Conveyed  
to his  
house.

“ About one or two of the clock in the morning, they were from thence conveyed to a house of his, called Bonham, two miles off, within a quarter of a mile of Sturton, where my lord himself lay. Where arriving the Tuesday about three of the clock in the morning, they were laid fast bound in two several places without meat or drink, fire, or any thing to lie upon. About four of the clock in the afternoon, my lord sent unto them two justices of the peace to examine them, whom he made believe, he would the next morning send them to the gaol. And to that end he caused the said justices to put their hands to a *mittimus*. As soon as the justices came unto the house, finding them bound, they caused them to be loosed, and advised my lord’s men, that kept them, to suffer them so to continue, saying, that there was no doubt of the escaping of them.

Conveyed  
thence to  
a close.

p. 372.

“ But as soon as the said justices were departed, my lord sent first Saunder Moor, and then Frank, and finally Farre, being all three his men, to cause them to be bound again, and to be laid in several places; commanding further all the keepers to come away, saving such as he had especially appointed for the murder which ensued, whom he had before procured to do the act, promising that they should do no more than he himself would do. About ten of the clock my lord sent to Bonham, William Farre, Roger Gough, John Welchman, and Macute Jacob, commanding them to fetch the said Hartgyls to the place appointed; warning them, that in case by the way, the said Hartgyls, upon suspicion what was meant to them, should make any noise, to rid them of their lives before the coming of them to the said place. The four above named, finding at Bonham, Henry Simmes, who was appointed to watch the house, went into the same, and brought



out the two Hartgyls, and bringing them into a close joyning hard to Sturton, they were knocked in the heads with two clubs. Wherewith kneeling on their knees, and their hands fast bound behind them, being at one stroak felled, they received afterwards sundry stroaks, till the murderers thought they had been stark dead. My lord, in the mean season, standing at the gallery-door, which was not a good coyte's cast from the place of execution. This done, they wrapped them in their own gowns, and so carried the bodies among them through a garden into my lord's gallery; at the door whereof they found my lord according as he had promised. And from thence into a little place in the end thereof, my said lord bearing the candle before them; where he that carried Old Hartgyl, missing a plank, fell down into a hole and the body with him. 1556.

And there  
knocked  
on the  
head;

"This place was hard by my lord's chamber: to which place the bodies being brought not full dead, they groaned very sore, especially the elder Hartgyl. Which hearing, William Farre, one of the murderers, swearing by God's blood they were not yet dead, and Henry Simmes saying, it were a good deed to rid them out of their pains, and my lord himself bidding their throats to be cut, lest a French priest, lying near the place, might hear; the said Ferre took out his knife and cut both their throats, my lord standing by with the candle in his hand. And their throats cut.

"And one of the murderers then said, 'Ah! my lord, this is a pitteous sight; had I thought that I now think, before the thing was done, your whole land could not have won me to consent to such an act.' My lord answered, 'What, faint hearted knave, is it any more than the ridding of two knaves, that living, were troublesome both to God's law and man's? There is no more account to be made of them than of the killing of two sheep.' Lord Sturton's remorseless words.

"Then were their bodies tumbled down into a dungeon, my lord walking by up and down. And after, Harry Simmes and Roger Gough were con- The bodies buried in a dungeon.

1556. veyed down by cords (for there were no stairs thereunto) who digged a pit for them, and there buried them together; my lord oftentimes, in the mean time, calling unto them from above to make speed, for that the night went away.

Digged up. “The bodies have siththen been digged up by Sir Anthony Hungerford, sent purposely to the place for that purpose, and were found in the self same apparel that they were taken in, buried very deep, covered first with earth, and then with two courses of thick paving; and finally with chips and shavings of timber, above the quantity of two cartloads.

p. 373.  
Other misdemeanors  
of the Lord  
Sturton.

“In the examination of these matters it is fallen out, that he caused, not long siththen, a barn of one Thomas Chaffin, to be set on fire by three of his servants. Against which Chaffin, for that he said, ‘It was not done without the knowledge of the said Lord Sturton, or of some of his servants;’ he took an action upon his case, and recovered of him an hundred pound damage; for the payment whereof he took out of his pastures by force, twelve hundred sheep, with the wool upon their backs, and all the oxen, kine, horses and mares, that he could find in the said pastures.

“From one Willoughby he caused to be taken, for his pleasure, an whole team of oxen; whereof two were found, at this present, a fatting in the stall of his house.

“His other routs, riots, robberies, and murders were too long to write.” And thus ends this relation, which was writ soon after this bloody act done upon the Hartgyls. From whence I transcribe it.

## CHAP. XLIX.

Historical passages and occurrences in the months of March,  
April, May, June, July, August.

**W**E are now come to the fifth year of the queen. And therein these things may be worthy noting for posterity.

March 25. The Moscovy ambassador (vulgarly called the Duke of Moscovy) lately come to London, went to court, and about half a score aldermen, and a great company of merchants, free of the Russia Company, with him. He took barge at the Three Cranes in the Vintry. His garment was of cloth of tissue, and his hat and night-cap were set with great pearls and rich stones, the finest that ever were seen : and his men in cloth of gold and red damask, in side gowns.

1537.  
March.  
The Mosco  
ambassa-  
dor goes to  
court.

On the 31st he rode to dinner to the lord mayor, with five knights, aldermen, and five other aldermen, and many notable merchants of the Moscovy corporation. He rid in a gown of tissue rich, his garment of purple velvet, embroidered ; the gard, and his hat, and the border of his night-cap, set with ouches of pearl and stone. His horse trapped in crimson velvet embroidered of gold ; and the bridle gorgeously beseen. Seven of his men in gowns of crimson damask, and cloth of gold. After dinner he retired to his lodging, accompanied with the aldermen and merchants.

Dines with  
the lord  
mayor.

April 3. Five persons (some of them sent out of Essex) were condemned for heresy at St. Paul's, viz. three men and two women (one with a staff in her hand) to be burnt in Smithfield. And on the 12th day (which was the Monday in Passion-Week) they were accordingly burnt there. One of them was a barber, dwelling in Lime-street, and one of the women was the wife of the Crane (that is, she

April.  
Five burnt.

1557. kept the inn known by that sign) at the Crutched Friers beside Tower-hill.

p. 374.  
Bp. elect  
of Lincoln,  
and Dr.  
Perryn  
preach.  
April 4, it being the Sunday before Passion Sunday, Dr. Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln, preached at Alhallows the More (or the Great) in Thames-street in the afternoon, a great audience of people being present. And the same afternoon, at Bow Church in Cheapside, did Dr. Perryn preach, master warden of the Black Friars in St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield.

Ld. Abbot  
preaches.  
On the 11th day, being Passion Sunday, the Lord Abbot preached at Westminster, a sermon that had the fame of being as goodly a sermon as had been heard in that time.

Maundy.  
On the 15th, the king and queen made their Maundy at Greenwich.

Good  
Friday ser-  
mon.  
On the 16th day, being Good Friday, the preacher at Paul's Cross was Mr. Murrin (*i. e.* Morwen, I suppose, a learned man of Oxford) and made a godly sermon to a great audience.

Spittle ser-  
mon by Dr.  
Pendleton;  
and,  
The 19th day of April was Easter Monday: then Dr. Pendleton preached at St. Mary Spittle; whose sermon had praise. There were present the lord mayor and twenty-three aldermen, and three judges, and all the masters of the hospital with green staves in their hands, and all the children of the hospital in blue garments, both men, children and women, kept with certain lands, and the charity of the court of aldermen. And there were, by computation, above 20,000 people, old and young, to hear the sermon, according to the old custom.

Dr. Yong  
on Tues-  
day.  
On the 20th day, being Easter Tuesday, Dr. Yong preached at St. Mary Spittle; where were present the lord mayor and twenty-five aldermen, none being absent but Mr. Woodroff, upon account of sickness, as it seems: present also Lord Broke, lord chief justice, Lord Justice Brown, Sir John Baker, chancellor of the augmentations, and Sir Roger Cholmeley, recorder.

On the same day the Mosco ambassador resorted



to Westminster Abbey, and heard mass: and after  
 went to the Lord Abbot's to dinner: and dinner  
 ended, came into the monastery, and went up to see  
 St. Edward's shrine new set up, and then saw all the  
 place through: and so took his leave of my Lord  
 Abbot, and divers aldermen and many merchants  
 met him; who, together, rode into the park, and  
 so to London.

1557  
 The Mosco  
 ambassa-  
 dor sees  
 Westmin-  
 ster Abbey.

On the 21st, being Wednesday in Easter week, Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln elect, preached at the Spittle.

On Wed-  
 nesday the  
 Bishop of  
 Lincoln  
 preaches.  
 The king  
 and queen  
 remove.

On this day the king and queen removed from Greenwich to Westminster against St. George's Day.

April 23, being St. George's Day, the king's grace went a procession at Whitehall through the hall, and round about the court hard by the gate, certain of the knights of the garter accompanying him, viz. the Lord Mountagu, the lord admiral, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Dacre, Sir Thomas Cheyne, the Lord Paget, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, the lord treasurer, and Secretary Petre, in a robe of crimson velvet, with the garter embroidered on his shoulder (as chancellor of the garter.) One bare a rod of black, and a doctor the book of records. Then went all the heralds. And then the Lord Talbot bare the sword, after him the sergeant at arms. And then came the king, the queen's grace looking out of a window beside the court on the garden side. And the Bishop of Winchester did execute the mass, wearing his mitre. The same afternoon were chosen three knights of the garter, viz. the Lord Fitz Water, the deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey of Wilton, deputy of Guynes, and Sir Robert Rochester, comptroller of the queen's house. After the Duke of Moscovy (as that ambassador was usually termed) came through the hall, and the guard stood on a row in their rich coats with halberts; and so passed up to the queen's chamber, with divers aldermen and

The sole-  
 munity of St.  
 George's  
 Day.

1557. merchants. And after came down again to the chapel to even-song, to see the ceremonies. And immediately came the king (the Lord Strange bearing the sword) and the knights of the garter to even-song: which being done, they went all up to the chamber of presence. After came the ambassador, and took his barge to London.

Percy created Earl of Northumberland. The 30th of April Mr. Percy was made a knight and a baron. And the next day, that is, May 1, was created, at Whitehall, Earl of Northumberland, with eight heralds, and a dozen trumpeters, going through the queen's chamber, and through the hall: and afore him went the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Mountagu; then the Earls of Arundel and Rutland, and himself walking in the midst, all in crimson velvet, wearing their parliament robes. He wore a hat of velvet, and a coronet of gold on his head.

MAY. A Spaniard killed. May 1, the Spaniards gave an instance of their proud, bloody, and revengeful natures: for about noon, certain of them fought at the court gates against one Spaniard, and one of them thrust him through with his rapier, who died immediately: two of them that did this fact were brought into the court by one of the guard, who delivered them to some of the king's servants to have them to the Marshalsea.

Dr. Chadsey at Paul's Cross. May 2, Dr. Chadsey preached the Paul's Cross sermon; and therein declared that certain traitors were taken at Scarborough castle.

Lord Shandois buried. May 3, the Lord Shandois, otherwise called Sir John of Bridges, was buried with heralds, an herse of wax, four banners of images, and other appendages of funeral honour.

Certain rebels brought to the Tower. On that same day came five persons to the Tower, who were the chief of those that came out of France, whither they had fled afore, and had taken the castle of Scarborough in Yorkshire, viz. Stafford, Saunders, Staywel (sometimes named Straley, or Stretchley) and Proctor, and a Frenchman.

On the 4th of this instant May, a great horse-  
 rider, named Sir James Granado, rid before the  
 king and queen in the Privy-garden; but the bridle-  
 bit breaking, his horse ran away, and threw him  
 against the wall, whereby he brake his neck, and his  
 brains were dashed out. The 6th day he was buried  
 honourably at St. Dunstan's in the East.

1557.  
 Sir James  
 Granado  
 killed.

On the 5th was the Lady Chamberlain, late wife  
 of Sir Leonard Chamberlain, of Oxfordshire, buried  
 with a fair herse of wax. At the mass preached Dr.  
 Chadsey. A great dole of money given at the  
 church; and after a great dinner.

Lady  
 Chamber-  
 lain buried.

On the 14th was burnt in Cheapside, and other  
 places of London, certain meal that was not sweet.  
 They said, the mealman had put in lime and sand to  
 deceive the people; and he himself was committed  
 to the Counter.

Meal  
 burned.  
 p. 376.

The 22d, six prisoners were brought out of the  
 Tower to receive their trial, namely Stafford, Captain  
 Saunders, Seywel or Stowel, Prowter or Procter, a  
 Frenchman, and one other. They all, excepting the  
 Frenchman, were cast, and carried back to the  
 Tower through London by land. On the 25th the  
 Frenchman was arraigned and cast.

Six traitors  
 cast.

The 23d, Dr. White, Bishop of Winchester,  
 preached at St. Mary Overies; where an heretic  
 was present to hear the sermon, named Steven Grat-  
 wick, sent up some time before by the Bishop of  
 Chichester, his ordinary, and laid in the Marshalsea.  
 He was of Bright Hempson, in Sussex. He freely  
 in the face of the congregation confuted the bishop's  
 sermon.

Bishop of  
 Winton  
 preacheth.

The 27th, being Ascension-day, the king and queen  
 rode unto Westminster Abbey, accompanied with  
 many lords, knights and gentlemen. There their  
 graces went a procession about the cloister, and so  
 heard mass.

The king  
 and queen  
 ride to  
 Westmin-  
 ster Abbey.

The 28th, was Thomas Stafford beheaded on  
 Tower-hill by nine of the clock, Mr. Wode being  
 his ghostly father: and after, three more, viz. Stowel,

Traitors  
 executed.

1557. Procter and Bradford, were drawn from the Tower through London unto Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered : and the morrow after was Stafford quartered, and his quarters hanged on a car, and carried to Newgate to boil.

Three  
burned.

The same morning were burnt beyond St. George's church, on this side Newington, three men for heresy ; namely, Gratwick above said, who seemed to be a minister, Morant and King.

Lady Gates  
buried.

On the same day, in the forenoon, was buried Mrs. Gates, widow, late wife, as it seems, to Sir John Gates, executed the first year of this queen's reign. She gave seventeen fine black gowns, and fourteen of broad russet for poor men. There were carried two white branches, ten staff torches and four great tapers : and after mass a great dinner.

Heads and  
quarters  
set up.

On the 29th, were the heads of the four persons, the day before executed, set upon London-bridge, and their sixteen quarters on every gate of London.

A May-  
game.

On the 30th, was a goodly May-game in Fenchurch-street, with drums and guns and pikes, and the nine worthies, who rid ; and each made his speech. There was also the morrice-dance, and an elephant with a castle, and the lord and lady of this May appeared to make up the show.

June.  
War pro-  
claimed  
with  
France.

June the 7th, proclamation of war with France was made in London ; wherein it was shewn, that the late Duke of Northumberland was supported and furthered in his treason, by Henry the French king, and his ministers ; and that they had secretly practised with Wyat and his treacherous band, and with Dudley, Asheton, &c. and gave them favour. As also he did to Stafford and the other rebels lately executed ; whom he had entertained in his realm, and other more yet untaken. This was proclaimed with trumpets blowing, and ten heralds of arms, the lord mayor and aldermen present.

p. 377.  
A stage-  
play at the  
Grey-  
friars.

The same day began a stage-play at the Grey-friars of the passion of Christ.

The same day was the Fishmongers' procession.



The mass kept at St. Peter's in Cornhill. Three crosses were borne, and an hundred priests in copes, and after the clerks, singing *Salve Festa Dies*: then came the parish with white rods in their hands; and then the craft of the fishmongers: and after the lord mayor and aldermen, and all his officers with white rods also in their hands; and so to St. Paul's; where they offered at the high altar; and after to dinner to Fishmongers' Hall.

1557.  
The Fish-  
mongers'  
procession.

The same day came the inhabitants of St. Clement's parish, without Temple Bar, in goodly procession unto Paul's, and did oblation at the high altar. This procession was made very pompous with fourscore banners and streamers, and the waits of the city playing; and threescore priests and clerks in copes: and divers of the inns of court were there, who went next the priests. Then came the parish with white rods in their hands. And so after they had made their offerings at St. Paul's, they marched back again with the waits playing, the priests and clerks singing homewards.

Procession  
of St. Cle-  
ment's.

On the 10th day of June, the king and queen took their journey towards Hampton-Court, with certain of the council, to hunt and to kill a great hart. The council tarried at Hampton-Court till Saturday following, when they came again to Whitehall.

The king  
and queen  
go to  
Hampton-  
Court.

This day Sir John, a chantry priest, hung himself in his chamber with his own girdle.

A priest  
hangeth  
himself.

The same day was the store-house at Portsmouth burnt, and much beer and victual, and provisions for war, destroyed. A judgment, perhaps, for burning so many innocent persons.

The 14th of June, certain gentlemen were carried to the Tower blindfold and muffled (as Sir John Cheke and Sir Peter Carow were served before: a Spanish trick.)

Some sent  
to the  
Tower.

The 16th day, the young Duke of Norfolk rode abroad; and at Stamford-hill a dag hanging at his saddle-bow by misfortune went off, and hit one of

Duke of  
Norfolk's  
man killed  
with a  
horse.

1557. his men that rid before; whereat his horse flung, and the man hanging by one of the stirrups, the horse kicked out his brains by flinging out with his legs.

The king  
and queen  
in proces-  
sion.

On the 17th, the king and queen went in procession at Whitehall, on Corpus Christi Day, through the hall and the great court-gate; the procession being attended with as goodly singing as ever was heard.

Two burnt.

On the 18th, two persons were carried beyond St. George's, almost at Newington, to be burnt for heresy and other matters. (Of whom Fox taketh no notice.)

Mrs. Hall  
buried.

On the 19th, was old Mrs. Hall buried, in the parish of St. Benet Sherehog. She gave certain good gowns, both for men and women, and twenty gowns to poor people. Several ladies and others attended in mourning. She was memorable in being the mother of Mr. Edward Hall, of Gray's Inn, who set forth the chronicle called Hall's Chronicle; and, I conjecture, she was that Mrs. Hall, that was a great reliever of such as were persecuted for religion in this reign; and to whom several of the martyrs wrote letters, which are extant.

p. 378.  
The lord  
abbot  
preacheth  
at Paul's.

On the 20th day the Lord Abbot of Westminster preached at Paul's Cross. His sermon, which had much applause, was upon Dives and Lazarus. The crosser holding his staff at his preaching. The audience was great and solemn, consisting of the lord mayor, judges, aldermen, and divers worshipful persons, besides the common sort.

Sextons'  
procession.

On the 21st was the sextons' procession, with standards and staves thirty and odd, and good singing, and waits playing; and a canopy borne through Newgate and Old Bailey, and through Ludgate, and so to Paul's Church-yard; thence through Cheap along to Cooper's-hall, to dinner.

Austin-  
friars.

The 24th, St. John Baptist's Day, at the Augustin-friars was as pleasing service celebrated as had been

known, by the merchant strangers; who, it seems, made use of this church for their religious worship, after the protestant strangers were gone, and had left it. 1537.

The 29th of June, being St. Peter's Day, a small fair was kept in St. Margaret's Church-yard, Westminster; as for wool, turner's ware, and such other small things. The same day was a goodly procession, in which the lord abbot went with his mitre and crosier, and a great number of copes of cloth of gold, with the vergers; and many worshipful gentlemen and women going also in procession in Westminster. A fair in the church-yard at Westminster. A procession there.

The same day, at afternoon, was the second year's mind (*i. e.* yearly *obit*) of good Master Lewyn, ironmonger; and at his *Dirge* were all the livery; whereof the first was Mr. Alderman Draper. After they retired to the widow's place, where they had a cake and wine; and, besides the parish, all comers treated. The year's mind of Mr. Lewyn

The last day of June was St. Powel's (Paul's) Day; *i. e.* commemoration of a privilege; and at St. Paul's, London, was a goodly procession. For there was a priest of every parish of the diocese (city, I suppose, he means) of London, with a cope, and the Bishop of London wearing his mitre. And after, according to an old custom, came a fat buck, and his head with his horns borne upon a banner pole, and forty persons blowing with the horn afore the buck, and behind. The procession at Paul's with the buck.

The same day was the Merchant Taylors' feast; at which they had sixty bucks, and the master gave to divers parishes two bucks a-piece, to make merry. There dined the mayor, sheriffs and divers worshipful persons; and there the mayor chose Mr. Mallory, alderman, sheriff for the king, for the year ensuing. Merchant Taylors' feast.

This same day the king's grace rode on hunting into the forest, and killed a great stag with guns. The king hunts.

July the 2d, the Duke of Norfolk's son was christened at Whitehall, in the afternoon; the king and the lord chancellor godfathers, and the old Lady Dutchess of Norfolk godmother; there were four- July. Duke of Norfolk's son christened.

157. score torches burning. This infant was he that was afterwards known by the name and title of Philip Earl of Arundel.

The king  
departs.

The 3d day, the king and queen took their journey towards Dover, and lay all night at Sittingborn; and on the 5th the king took shipping for Calais, on his journey towards Flanders.

Lady Tresham  
buried.

The 10th, the Lady Tresham was buried at Peterborough, with four banners, and an herse of wax and torches.

p. 379.  
The queen  
goes to  
Richmond.

On the 15th the queen dined at Lambeth with the Lord Cardinal Pole; and after dinner removed to Richmond, and there her grace tarried her pleasure.

Sir Richard  
Whittington  
buried again.

On the same day Whittington, and the lady his wife, were coffined again, and leaded, at Whittington College, where they had been buried, and had *Dirge* said over night, and the morrow-mass sung. He was the founder of the said college, and built Newgate and other places; having been mayor of London annis 1397, 1406, 1419. (The reason of this was, for that Whittington's corpse had been of late taken up by one that was minister there, and the lead about his body taken off, and the grave rifled, to search for treasure, which he supposed was buried with him.)

Anne of  
Cleves  
dieth.

The 16th day of July died the Lady Anne of Cleves, at Chelsey, some time wife and queen unto King Henry VIII. but never crowned. Her corpse was cered the night following.

An English  
army go  
over sea.

In this month went a great army over sea after the king; among them went the Earl of Pembroke, chief captain of the field, the Lord Mountagu, the Lord Clynton, and divers other lords, knights and gentlemen; some by shipping and some by land, from London towards Dover, arrayed in goodly apparel, to the number of five hundred men, all in blue cassocs, very goodly men, and the best be seen. And, on the 22d day, came up a certain number of light horsemen from the Lord Dacre's of the North, beyond Carlisle, to go over sea. And, on the 23d July, Sir George Paulet and Sir William Courtney took their



barge at Tower Wharf towards Dover, and divers captains. 1557.

On the 17th day of this month happened a skirmish at Marguison, between the English and French, where our men had the better, and took a good booty of cattle. There were slain nine men of arms, and eighteen taken prisoners of the French, and of our's three taken prisoners, and five hurt. This was done by the help of the men of Guisnes, and Calais horsemen. A skirmish between the English and French

On the 29th, one Wakeham, who had broke out of the Tower, was fetched out of the sanctuary at Westminster, by the constable of the Tower, and brought back through London. On the 14th of August this man broke out again at midnight, and took sanctuary again. He was one of a company that had robbed Sir Edward Warner, now or late constable of the Tower. One fetched out of the sanctuary.

On the same 29th July, being St. Olave's Day, was the church's holy day in Silver-street, the parish church whereof was dedicated to that saint; and at eight of the clock at night began a stage-play, of a goodly matter (relating, it is like, to that saint) that continued unto twelve at midnight, and then they made an end with a good song. St. Olave's Day.

On the same day began the herse, at Westminster, for the Lady Anne of Cleves, consisting of carpenter's work of seven principals; being as goodly an herse as had been seen. Anne of Cleves' herse begun.

Aug. the 1st, were the nuns of Sion inclosed in by the Bishop of London and my Lord Abbot of Westminster; certain of the council, and certain friars of that order, being present. Their habit of sheep's colour, and made of such wool as the sheep beareth. They had then a great charge given them of their living, and warned that they were now never more to go forth of those walls, as long as they lived. August. Nuns of Sion. p. 380.

On the 3d of August, the body of the Lady Anne of Cleves was brought from Chelsey, where her house was, unto Westminster, to be buried, with all the chil- Lady Anne of Cleves her funeral

1537. dren of Westminster, and many priests and clerks. Then the Gray Amis of Paul's and three crosses, and the monks of Westminster, and my Lord Bishop of London, and Lord Abbot of Westminster, rode together next the monks. Then the two secretaries, Sir Edmund Peckham and Sir Robert Freston, conferer to the Queen of England, my lord admiral, and Mr. Darcy, of Essex, and many knights and gentlemen. And before her corpse, her servants, her banner of arms. Then her gentlemen and her head officers, and then her chariot with eight banners of arms, consisting of divers arms; and four banners of images of white taffata wrought with gold, and her arms. And so they passed by St. James's, and thence to Charing Cross, with an hundred torches burning, her servants bearing them. And the twelve bead-men of Westminster had new black gowns, bearing twelve torches burning; there were four white branches with arms. Then ladies and gentlewomen all in black, with their horses. Eight heralds of arms in black, and their horses. Arms set about the herse, behind and before; and four heralds bearing the four white banners. At the church-door all did alight, and there the Lord Bishop of London and the lord abbot, in their mitres and copes, did receive the good lady, censing her. Men bore her under a canopy of black velvet, with four black staves, and so brought her into the herse; and there tarried *Dirge*, remaining there all night with lights burning.

Her mass  
or Re-  
quiem.

On the 4th day, being the day after, was celebrated the mass of *Requiem* for the said Lady Princess of Cleves. There the Lord Abbot of Westminster made a godly sermon, and the Bishop of London sung mass in his mitre. And, after the mass, the said bishop and abbot mitred, did cense the corpse; and afterwards she was carried to her tomb, where she lay with an herse-cloth of gold, the which lay over her; and there all head-officers brake their staves, and all her housers (servants of her household) brake their rods; and all cast them into her tomb.

All the lords and ladies, knights and gentlemen, and gentlewomen did offer; and, after mass, was a great dinner at my Lord Marquis of Winchester's; and my Lady of Winchester was the chief mourner. The lord admiral and the Lord Darcy went on each side of my said Lady of Winchester; and so they went in order to dinner. 1557.

On the 3d day of August, in the afternoon, came from the Chequer about seventeen horses laden with money, towards Barwick, and divers men riding with it, with javelins and pole-axes, on horseback, and bows and sheaves of arrows, between eight and nine of the clock. Money for Barwick.

On the same 3d of August, the good ship called the Mary Rose, of London, accompanied with the Maudelyn Dryvers, and a small crayer of the West country, coming by South, chanced to meet with a French man of war, of the burden of ten score, or thereabouts, and had to the number of 200 men. In the Mary Rose were 23 men and a boy, in the Maudelyn 18, and in the bark of the West country 12. A sea-fight between the French and English. p. 381.

The Mary Rose sailing faster than the Frenchman, he presently set upon the two other ships; but the Mary Rose tacked about, and set upon the French ship, and boarded her, and slew to the number of an hundred men, with the captain, or ever the two other ships came to the fight. There were slain in the Mary Rose two men, and one died a sevendnight after, and six hurt, with the master, whose name was John Cowper. Then came in the Maudelyn to the Mary Rose, and shot one piece of ordnance in at the French ship's stern, and, going by her, shot arrows at the Frenchman; the Maudelyn did no more hurt, the small bark nothing at all. Thus they fought two hours, but at the length the Frenchmen were weary on their parts, and stood off, not having men to guide their sails: but if the Mary Rose had had men to enter the French ship, and a setter-on, they had brought her away, ere the other ships could have helped her. Afterwards news was brought out of

1557. Diep, by a prisoner that had paid his ransom, that fifty men were carried out of the French ship in wheelbarrows to the surgeons, and the ship sore hurt and maimed.

London to  
find sol-  
diers.

On the 6th day came a new commandment, that the city of London should find a thousand men, with all manner of weapons, coats and harness, guns and morice pikes, and horsemen.

King Phi-  
lip writes  
to the  
council.

On the 7th, King Philip made answer to three letters sent from the queen's privy council, dated July 28, August the 1st and 3d. For they did continually acquaint him with all the transactions and 'councils taken in England. He intitled his letter, "Prædictis (or rather *perdilectis*) et fidelibus nobis consanguineis nostris, et aliis dominis, cæterisque selectis consiliariis nostris in Anglia." In this, as in all his letters, he subscribed his name at the bottom, and not at the beginning. Herein he treated the council with much courtesy and good words, thanking them for their care of the queen his wife, and of the state. "Agimusque vobis gratias pro amore et continuo studio, cura ac diligentia, quibus obsequio serenæ reginæ conjugis nostræ charissimæ, beneficioque utilitati et tuitioni rerum istius regni, incumbitis. Est enim id nobis supra modum gratum, tantisque viris dignum, opinionique quam de vobis ingentem concepimus, admodum conveniens." That is, "He thanked them for their love, continual study, care and diligence, wherewith they laid out themselves in observance of his most dear spouse the queen, and for the benefit, profit and defence of the kingdom; it being a thing beyond measure grateful to him, and worthy of such men as they were, and exactly agreeable to the great opinion which he had conceived of them."

Proclama-  
tion for  
beer.

On the 13th a proclamation was made for the price of beer and ale; and what should be paid the barrel and the kilderkin for either.

News of  
the taking  
of St.  
Quentin's.

On the 14th, tidings came from beyond sea, that the king had taken many noblemen of France, going



to victual St. Quintin, besieged by his men; as the constable of France for one, and six thousand prisoners taken, and six carts and waggons laden with treasure and victuals. 1557.

On the 15th, came commandment to all the churches in London to go a procession to St. Paul's, and all priests in their copes. But, before they went, they of Paul's sang *Te Deum Laudamus*; and, after that, down they went a procession into Cheap round about the Cross, singing *Salva Festa Dies*. And the lord mayor and aldermen, in scarlet, went round about St. Paul's without, and after to Paul's Cross, to the sermon, where Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London, preached and made a godly sermon. In his sermon he declared how many were taken, and what noblemen. This was the day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady the Virgin. The same day, at even, *Te Deum* was sung in all churches in London, and ringing of bells; and at night bonfires, and drinking in every street, in token of thanks to God Almighty, that giveth victory. p. 382.  
Procession  
for it.

On the 16th day of August, the herse of the King of Denmark was begun to be set up in a four-square frame.

On the 17th day of August, Sir John Porte, of Derbyshire, Kt. sat with the bishop of the diocese, and the rest of the commissioners, at Utcester, in Staffordshire, to search out heresies, and punish them. The commission was, *for reformation of divers heresies*. Commis-  
sion for  
heresy in  
Stafford-  
shire.

August 18, was the King of Denmark's herse in St. Paul's finished with wax, the like to which was never seen in England, in regard of the fashion of square tapers. Twenty-one banners and banneroles. The same night was the *Dirge*; the lord-treasurer chief mourner; and after him the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Oxenbridge, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Robert Freston, cofferer to the queen, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Arthur Darcy, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, all in black. The Bishop of King of  
Denmark's  
herse.

1557. London began the *Dirge*, with his mitre on, all the *Dirge*-while ; after the *Dirge* all the heralds and all the lords went into the Bishop of London's place, and drank. In honour of this king's obsequies, were four goodly white branches, and six dozen of torches ; the choir hung with black, and arms ; six pillars covered with velvet ; and a goodly herse-cloth of tinsel, the cross of cloth of silver ; a majesty and vallance fringe of gold, and ten dozen of pensils, and as many dozen escutcheons of arms. The next day was the morrow-mass, and a goodly sermon preached ; and after to my Lord of London to dinner.

The herse  
of the Lady  
Anne of  
Cleves  
taken  
down,

On the 22d was the herse of the Lady Anne of Cleves, lately set up at Westminster Abbey, taken down ; which the monks, by night, had spoiled of all the velvet cloth, arms, banners, pensils, majesty and vallance, and all. The which was never seen afore so done.

And that  
of the king  
of Den-  
mark.

And on the 23d also, was the King of Denmark's herse, at Paul's, taken down by the wax-chandlers and carpenters (to whom this work pertained) by order of Mr. Garter, and certain of the lord treasurer's servants.

Claren-  
tieux bu-  
ried.

On the 24th of this month of August, Mr. Tho. Halley Clarentieux, king at arms, was buried in St. Giles's parish, without Cripplegate, with coat, armour, and penons of arms, and scutcheons of his arms, and two white branches, twelve staff-torches, and four great tapers, and a crown. And, after *Dirge*, the heralds repaired unto Mr. Greenhil, the wax-chandler, a man of note (being wax-chandler to Cardinal Pole) living hard by ; where they had spice-bread and cheese, and wine, great plenty. The morrow-mass also was celebrated, and a sermon preached ; and after followed a great dinner, whereat were all the heralds, together with the parishioners. There was a supper also as well as a dinner.

p. 583.

Merchant  
Taylors'  
feast.

The 29th day, being the decollation of St. John Baptist, was the Merchant Taylors' feast ; when the lord mayor, Sir Tho. White, Mr. Harper, sheriff,

Mr. Row, and all the clothing, and the four wardens of the yeomanry, and the company, heard mass at St. John's in Smithfield, and offered every man a penny; and from thence to the hall, two and two together to dinner. 1557.

The 31st, the young Dutchess of Norfolk being lately deceased, and her herse began to be set up on the 28th, in St. Clement's, without Temple Bar, was this day finished, with banners, pensils, wax and scutcheons. The herse of the Dutchess of Norfolk.

## CHAP. L.

A short journal of occurrences falling out in the months of September, October, November, December, and January.

THE noble wife of Thomas, the young Duke of Norfolk, daughter and heir of the Earl of Arundel, who seemed to have died in childbed, had her funerals solemnized on the 1st of September. At afternoon began the knell. The church, and the place (*i. e.* Bath Place, now belonging to the Earl of Arundel) and the street hanged with black and arms; by three of the clock she was brought to the church with an hundred mourners; her grace had a canopy of black velvet, with four staves, borne over her, and many banners and banneroles borne about her; and the Bishop of London, in his cope, and his mitre on his head, and all the choir of Paul's were present; two great white branches, and twelve dozen staff torches; eight heralds of arms: the Lady Lumley chief mourner, and many lords and knights, and gentlemen, ladies and gentlewomen, attending the obsequies. September. The dutchess's funeral.

The 3d of September, at night, commandment came, that every church in London, and in every county and shire, should sing *Te Deum*, and make bonfires, for the king's winning St. Quintin's. St. Quintin's.

Mention was made before, how, in the month of

1557.  
Sanctuary  
allowed to  
one that  
brake pri-  
son.

July, one Wakeham, a prisoner in the Tower, had twice broken prison, and taken sanctuary at Westminster, now, on the 10th day of September, he was the second time brought back to the Tower again, by order of the council. But, on the 15th day following, he was restored unto Westminster, again to sanctuary. This was a trial of skill for the privileges of this sanctuary; and we may observe what a power this new monastery had obtained, to prevail against an order of council.

A proces-  
sion for  
good news,  
p. 334.

On the 12th day of this September, came forth a commandment for mattins and mass to be done every where by nine of the clock; and the parsons and curates to go to Paul's with surplices and copes; and to go a procession thence through London, and about Paul's, and *Te Deum Laudamus* sung. This procession was accordingly performed; and there went the lord mayor and the aldermen in scarlet. And after they went into the shrouds, and there Dr. Standish preached; and after even-song *Te Deum* was sung, and there was ringing of bells through London. And this for the good news that came from the English captains beyond the sea.

Sir John  
Cheke dies

The 13th day concluded the life of Sir John Cheke, broke with grief, that had been King Edward's school-master till he died; and, on the 16th, he was buried privately in the church of St. Alban's, Wood-street, London.

A Spani-  
ard comes  
post to the  
queen.

The 15th day, came out of Spain, to the queen's court, in post, Monsieur De Gomez, gorgeously apparelled, with divers other Spaniards, with great chains, and their hats set with stones and pearls. They supped, and by seven of the clock were on horseback again; and so rode through Fleet-street, and at the Horn there they drank, and at the Greyhound; thence through Cheapside, and so over the Bridge, and rode all night towards Dover.

The cardi-  
nal's stew-  
ard buried.

The 16th day of this September, Mr. Heyns, the lord cardinal's steward, was buried at Hampstead-Heath, with great solemnity.



On the 17th, four persons, that is, three men and one woman, went out of Newgate unto Islington, beyond the Butts, in a valley, to be burnt for heresy. Two of them were man and wife, dwelling in St. Dunstan's in the East, on the east side of the churchyard, with Mr. Waters, serjeant at arms: their names were James and Margery Austoo; the two others were named Allerton and Roth.

1557.  
Four burnt

On the 20th of September, a commandment came down to all parishes in London, that they should go on procession at Paul's, and *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches in London: to sing and ring for the winning of other places in France.

A procession for success in France.

Ditto, Mrs. Finch, one of the privy chamber to the queen, was buried in the Savoy.

Mrs. Finch buried.

The 21st, was the month-mind of Sir Harry Hussey, Kt. with a standard and penon of arms; his coat armour, target, helmet and sword, and six dozen of escutcheons, and the heralds attending. He had been carried to Slinfold, in Sussex, and there buried, September 3: and in the next month his lady deceased, and was there also buried.

Sir Harry Hussey buried, and his lady.

The same day Dr. Pendleton, a great preacher in this reign, and a great professor of religion in the former, but a backslider, was buried in St. Stephen's, in Walbroke, where he was parson; being brought with all Paul's choir to be buried there.

Dr. Pendleton buried.

The 29th, Mr. Dod, serjeant of the queen's cellar, was buried in St. Botolph's parish, without Aldersgate.

Serjeant of the queen's cellar buried.

October the 5th, — Sackville, Esq. father unto Sir Richard Sackville, Kt. late chancellor of the augmentations, was honourably buried.

October. Sackville buried.

This day also, Tho. Mildmay, Esq. and under treasurer, and his wife, were buried at Chelmsford, in Essex.

Mildmay buried, and his wife.

The 6th day, a commandment came down, that forasmuch as the pope and the emperor were become friends and lovers, and the war ended between them, every parish priest in London should cause all ex-

p. 385.  
Joy for peace between the pope and emperor.

1557. pressions of joy to be shewn by bonfires, and ringing of bells.

One set on  
the pillory.

The 13th day, a tailor was set on the pillory for heinous, seditious, and opprobrious words against the lord mayor and aldermen ; and for being a common slanderer of people, and of his neighbours.

Fifty great  
guns newly  
made.

On the 21st, fifty great guns, newly made, were carried through Smithfield, Newgate, and Cheapside, to the Tower, and two hundred men accompanied, with guns, bows, and pikes, in harness and shirts of mail.

Countess  
of Arundel  
dies

On the same day died the Countess of Arundel at Bath-place (afterwards called Arundel-house) in St. Clement's parish, without Temple-bar.

Her burial.

On the 26th, was a goodly herse set up for her in the said parish church, with five principals, eight banneroles, &c. On the 27th, she was brought to church, the Bishop of London, Paul's choir, and the clerks of London, going before : then came the corpse with five banners of arms borne. Then came four heralds in their coats of arms, and bare four banners of images at the four corners. And then came the chief mourners, my Lady of Worcester, Lady Lumley, Lady North, and Lady Sentleger. Then came an hundred mourners of men, and after as many ladies and gentlewomen, all in black ; besides a great many poor women in black and rayls, and four-and-twenty poor men, and many of her servants, in black, bearing torch-lights. On the next day, being the 28th, was the mass of *Requiem* sung, and a sermon preached, and after her grace was buried. And all her officers, with white staves in their hands, and all the heralds waiting about her in their coat-armour. The lord abbot of Westminster was the preacher, and the Bishop of London sung the mass. A second mass was sung by another bishop, and a third by another priest. And after, all departed to my lord's place to dinner.

November.  
A man and  
his wife

On the 5th of November was an exemplary piece of justice done within the city. A man was carried

on horseback, with his face towards the horse's tail, having on a freeze gown, and a writing on his head, importing, that he let out his wife to divers men. His wife leading the horse, and a paper on her head for whoredom. 1557.  
justly  
punished.

November the 8th, Sir Nicolas Hare, Kt. master of the rolls, was buried honourably within the Temple. Master of  
the rolls.  
buried.

On the 12th, Mr. Maynard, merchant, and sheriff of London in the sixth year of King Edward VI. was buried at Stepney, with two white branches, and twelve torches, and four great tapers. And after, the company departed to his house at Poplar, to a great dinner. This gentleman, when he was sheriff, kept a great house, and in the time of Christinas, had a lord of misrule; and the king's lord of misrule came and dined with him. And at the Cross in Cheapside he made a great scaffold, and had a mock-proclamation made there by his lord. Maynard  
buried.

On the same day, a post was set up in Smithfield, for three that should have been burnt for heresy, and both wood and coals brought ready: but the Lord Abbot of Westminster coming to Newgate, and talking with them, there was such hope of their abjuration, that they were stayed that day from burning; but on the next day, being St. Erkenwald's Eve, they went out of Newgate thither to their burning. Their names were M. Gybson, Haleday (or Halingdale, according to Fox) and Sparrow. The first was the son of — Gybson, Esq. serjeant of arms, and of the revels, and of the king's tents. Of this Gybson more will be said hereafter. p. 386.  
A post set  
up in  
Smithfield.

On the 16th was Mr. Dorel buried at St. Martin's, Ludgate. He was a captain of the galleys, and knight of Rhodes. Dorel  
buried.

On the 18th died the Lord Bray, within the Blackfriars, near Ludgate. He got his death at St. Quintin's. And on the 23d he was carried from Blackfriars to the Thames side; where were two great barges ready, covered with black, and arms hanging. The Lord  
Bray dies.  
His burial.

1557. And so he went by water to Chelsca to be buried by his father, with four heralds of arms, and a standard, and a banuer of arms, and two banners of images borne by two heralds of arms in their coat armour; and so many noblemen mourners in black. And sixteen poor men had new gowns, and about sixteen coat torches, two white branches, and four great tapers; and a great armour, target, sword, and mantle, and an eight dozen of escutcheons. And many priests and clerks attended. They all came back from Chelsea to this lord's place at Blackfriars to dinner.

A fight  
with the  
Scots.

On the 18th, tidings came from the Earl of Northumberland, in the borders of Scotland, that the Scots and the English met, and then fought; wherein many Scots were taken.

Lord abbot  
preaches.

On the 21st, the Lord Abbot of Westminster preached at Paul's Cross, and made a goodly sermon.

Norroy  
created  
Claren-  
tieux.

The same day the queen set a crown on the head of Mr. Norroy, king at arms, and created him Clarentieux, with a cup of wine, at St. James's, her grace's place.

Lady Hare  
buried.

November 25. The Lady Hare, late wife of Sir Nic. Hare, late master of the rolls, buried soon after her husband.

St. An-  
drew's pro-  
cession.

The 30th, being St. Andrew's Day, was a procession at Paul's, and a priest of every parish attending, each in his cope; and a goodly sermon preached; and after that the procession, with *Salve Festa Dies*.

Sir Tho.  
Tressham,  
Lord of St.  
John's.

The same day, the queen and the lord Cardinal came from St. James's unto Whitehall: there they heard mass; and all the bishops, judges, and sergeants at law were present. After mass, Sir Thomas Tressham was created Lord of St. John's of Jerusalem, in England, and four Knights of the Rhodes made. Tressham was a gentleman of Northamptonshire, and lieutenant of the forest of Rockingham, in the said county. He buried his wife the last year.

Procession  
at West-  
minster.

The same day my lord abbot went a procession in his mitre, and all the monks and clerks singing *Salve*



*Festa Dies*, round about the abbey. And the abbot 1557.  
sang the mass.

This day also, after dinner, the lord cardinal made The cardinal preacheth.  
a goodly sermon in the chapel. There were present, to honour the illustrious preacher, all the bishops and judges, the lord mayor, and all the aldermen; p. 387.  
and many lords and knights, ladies and gentlewomen.

December 4. Sir Robert Rochester, Kt. comp- December.  
troller of the queen's house, and son of Robert Ro- Sir Rob. Rochester  
chester, serjeant of the pantry to Henry VIII. was buried.  
buried at the Charter-House, at Shene. He was  
chosen knight of the garter, but never stalled at  
Windsor; and so was not buried with the garter,  
but after the manner of another knight. There was  
a goodly herse of wax, of five principals, with eight  
dozen of pensils, and eight dozen of escutcheons, and  
six dozen of torches, four banners of images, and a  
majesty and vallance; Mr. Clarentieux, and Mr.  
Lancaster, heralds, and many mourners attending.  
The mass celebrated, and a sermon preached; and  
after a great dinner.

On the 5th, being St. Nicolas Eve, St. Nicolas St. Nicolas  
went abroad in most places, all people receiving him  
into their houses, and had good cheer after the old  
fashion.

On the 8th of December, the Lady Rowlet, one Lady Row-  
of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, and let buried.  
the youngest of five, wife of Sir Ralph Rowlet, Kt.  
was buried in the parish of St. Mary Staining,  
London.

On the 10th day, being Friday, was Doctor Dr. Wes-  
Weston deposed from his deanery of Windsor, for ton de-  
uncleanness. prived.

On the 12th, being Sunday, at Islington, there The guard  
met certain persons that were gossellers, and some seize some  
pretended players, and one Ruff (Rough) a Scot, at Isling-  
formerly a friar; and under the pretence of a play ton.  
(which seemed indeed to be begun) he was to have  
read a lecture to the assembly. And the commu-

1557. nion was played, and should have been administered; but the guards came too soon, or ever the chief matter was begun. Of this Rough and his martyrdom, something will be said in due place.

Sir William  
West  
buried.

On the 13th, Sir William West, Kt. (the same, I suppose, with him that went over lately in the expedition to St. Quintin's) was buried in the parish church of St. Sepulchre's without Newgate: three masses were sung, one of the Trinity, other of our Lady, and the third of *Requiem*: and a trental of masses said; his standard, coat, helmet, and sword offered; and a sermon preached.

Some cart-  
ed.

On the 17th, a young man and a woman rode through London in a cart. And the bawd, the wife of John à Badoo, was whipped at the said cart's tail; and the harlot did beat her; and an old harlot of threescore did lead the horse.

Rough  
burnt.

Dec. 20. Sir John Ruff, priest, before mentioned, and a woman named Mearing, were condemned to be burned in Smithfield. And on the 22d, they were accordingly both burnt.

Lady Freston  
buried.

Dec. 25. The Lady Freston, the wife of Sir Richard Freston, Kt. and cofferer unto Queen Mary, was buried in Suffolk.

Advancement  
at  
court.

Ditto. Divers courtiers were removed to higher rooms: as Sir Edward Hastings, master of the queen's horse, was made lord chamberlain; Sir Thomas Cornwallis, comptroller, in the place of Sir Rob. Rochester, deceased; Sir Hary Jerningham (or Jernegan) master of the queen's horse, and Sir Hary Benefield, vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guards.

p. 388.  
One pardon  
for words  
against King  
Philip.  
Acta publ.  
p. 48.

A gracious pardon from the king and queen, dated December 5, was granted to one John Copstocke, late of London; who had been indicted, for that he, after the 1st day of February, in the first and second years of their reigns, and after a proclamation of a certain act of parliament, the first and second of their said reigns, had imagined and writ, seditiously and maliciously, a certain malicious, false, and scandal-

ous book, intituled, "The Copy of John Bradford's Letter to the Queen, and to the Lords and Estates of the Realm," on the 27th of December, the third and fourth of their reigns; the writer, perhaps, falsely using the name of the godly martyr of that name, the better to countenance his book. "In which book, among other false, malicious, and scandalous clauses (as the words of the pardon ran) was this sentence: Peradventure her grace thinketh (meaning the queen) that the king will keep her more company, and love her the better, if she will give him the crown: yea, will crown him to make him live chaste, and contrary to his nature. For peradventure, after he were crowned, he would be contented with one woman; but, in the mean space, he would have do of three or four in one night, to prove which of them he liked best: not of ladies and gentlewomen, but of bakers' daughters, and such other poor whores." Then followeth his pardon. "Pietatis motu de gra. nostra speciali.—Pardonavimus.

1557.

A seditious book.

January the 1st, New Year's Day Eve, a lord of misrule came from Westminster with his heralds, trumpets, and drums, and many disguised in white. In this equipage he came into London; and was conducted into the Counter in the Poultry. And divers of his men lay there all night; and the rest went home to Westminster again by fours and sixes together, some on horseback, and some on foot.

January.  
A lord of misrule.

Jan. 3. Tidings came to the queen, that the French king was come to Newnam-bridge, with a great host of men of war, and laid battering-pieces unto it, and unto Ricebank by water, and unto Calais, and laid great battering pieces to it; and that there was great shooting.

The French come against Newnam and Calais.

This news was an unwelcome New Year's gift, and awakened the realm, too much lulled into security of affairs, on that side, by the late success at St. Quintin's. For the very next day, viz. Jan. 4, the city of London raised 500 men proportionably out of every craft, to go to Calais: and found them harness,

The city raises 500 men,

1557. bows, morice-pikes and guns, at their own cost and charges, and prest money, till they came to the queen's navy, to take them on board. And in two days these men were raised and armed.

Who are  
shipped for  
Calais.

For, Jan 6, they were brought to Leadenhall, and mustered before the lord mayor and aldermen: and in the afternoon by four of the clock, they took their way to Tower-wharf, and there they took shipping for Calais.

The mer-  
chantissend  
more.

And on the next day, viz. Jan 7, the merchants of the staple of Calais, took up an hundred and odd men to go, on their cost, to Calais: and on the ensuing day they took shipping also at Tower-wharf towards Calais; as did other men of war. And also from other places were men hastened away to the sea-ward.

p. 389.  
The insig-  
nia of the  
Earl of  
Sussex set  
up at  
Windsor.  
The news  
comes of  
the taking  
of Calais.

On the 8th day, were set up at Windsor the Earl of Sussex, Deputy of Ireland, his banner of arms, his helmet, crest, mantle, and his sword, for his installation of the garter.

On the 10th, heavy tidings came to England, and particularly to London, that the French had won Calais; which was the dolefullest news, and the heaviest taken that ever had happened: for, traitor-like, it was said to be sold and delivered unto them. The Duke of Guise was chief captain. Every man was discharged the town, carrying nothing with him.

The city  
raises 1000  
men.

On the 11th day, the city took up a thousand men more of their own cost, and made them white coats with red crosses. And every ward in London found certain men.

Lady Pow-  
is buried.

The 13th, the Lady Powis, daughter to Charles Brandon, late Duke of Suffolk, was buried suitably to her quality.

Sir Richard  
Freston  
buried.

On the 16th, Sir Richard Freston (cofferer unto the queen) was buried in Suffolk, living but a small time after his lady.

Sir George  
Gifford's  
month  
mind.

The 17th, was the month mind of Sir George Gifford, in Bucks; with a standard, a penon of arms,



coat armour, helmet, target, sword, and mantle, and 1557.  
two banners of images.

The of this month was buried, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Alsop  
buried.  
apothecary unto King Henry VIII. and to King  
Edward VI. and the serjeant of the confectionary  
unto Queen Mary. He was buried very honourably  
with poor men and gowns, and morrow-mass, and a  
great dinner.

On the 20th, the fifth of the queen, began a par- A parlia-  
ment.  
liament. Her grace took her chariot at the Whitehall,  
with her lords of the parliament, the bishops and  
priests, and repaired all to the abbey to mass; and  
after that to the parliament house.

On the 21st came a commandment to the lord The city  
mayor, that he should make ready the raised men in  
harness, with white coats, welted with green, and red  
crosses, by the 23d of the same month; to be at Lead-  
enhall, in order to their going away; that is, to try to  
recover Calais, or otherwise to annoy the French.  
The city  
command-  
ed to get  
their men  
ready.

The 22d, a man was set on the pillory for seditious One pil-  
lorized.  
words, and rumours. For, no question, the mouths  
of the people would be open, upon this great and  
shameful loss.

Ditto, Dr. Barthelet, a physician in Blackfriars, Dr. Bar-  
thelet  
buried.  
was buried at St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield. For  
it was reckoned beneficial to the dead to be laid within  
the walls of a monastery.

On the 24th, the raised soldiers appeared before The city  
soldiers  
take ship-  
ping.  
the lord mayor, in Leadenhall. There he took a  
view of all the men, which each company delivered  
unto the mayor; and the mayor delivered them unto  
the captains at five at night. And at eight they took  
shipping.

Ditto, certain coiners, taken in Cambridge, went Coiners.  
this day unto Westminster-hall.

On the 30th, the Bishop of Winchester preached A sermon  
at Paul's  
Cross.  
at Paul's Cross, and made a goodly sermon.

And now we will cast our eyes back again, and  
take some view of the affairs and transactions of the  
spiritual estate.

p. 390.

## CHAP. LI.

New bishops made. Commissions from the cardinal. His orders to the Bishop of London. The pope's displeasure against the cardinal. His speech to the Londoners.

1557.  
Pole, Wat-  
son, Chris-  
topherson,  
consec-  
rated.  
Pole's  
Regist.

**D**OCTOR David Pole, the cardinal's favourite, great officer in spirituals, was, the beginning of the year, or rather the latter end of the last, elected Bishop of Peterborough; who was sufficiently blessed and fortified with papal bulls. One bull of provision from Pope Paul to David Pole, Elect of Peterborough, bare date April 9. There was another bull of absolution for the said Elect of Peterborough, and another to the archbishop, for the said election; and yet another for his consecration. Accordingly the cardinal-archbishop gave out his commission to Nicolas, Archbishop of York, to consecrate him, and Thomas Watson to be Bishop of Lincoln; and they both were consecrated on Sunday, August 15, in the church of Cheswick, of the diocese of London, by the said Nicolas, Thomas Bishop of Ely and William Bishop of Bangor assisting. And, November 21, John Christopherson, master of Trinity College in Cambridge, a learned man in the Greek tongue, was consecrated in a chapel of the Bishop of London's palace, in London, by the said Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Ely and Maurice Bishop of Rochester, assisting.

Commis-  
sions: To  
the Bishop  
of London;  
Pole's Reg.

July 2, the cardinal gave a mandate to the Bishop of London, for making general processions at that time, when almost all Christendom were miserably burning in wars: "To beg of Him that sat at the right-hand of the Father, to reduce Christian princes to concord, and to settle all Christendom in a desired tranquillity." And these processions and public supplications to be used in cathedral churches of his province, thrice a week in cities, and great towns twice, or at least once, together with singing of the

litany, and the mass, if it could be; otherwise with three collects: one for the church and others, the second for peace, and the third for the king and queen. 1537.

Other commissions went out to Henry Cole, LL.D. To Dr. Dean of St. Paul's, to be the cardinal's vicar-general Cole;  
in spirituals: To take cognizance, and to proceed in all causes in the Court of Audience, that is, to be auditor of causes in the said court, and to be his commissary-general and principal official, dated at St. James's, August 28; which offices had lately become vacant, upon the preferment of David Pole.— This Cole was he that was sent down the year before to Oxon, to have Cranmer dispatched, and was privy to the secret reasons of it, and so might deserve to be preferred.

Another commission to Maurice Clevocke, LL.B. To Clevocke;  
the cardinal's chaplain, servant, and domestic, rector of Orpington, dean of Shoreham and Croiden: To visit the churches of the said deaneries; dated at St. James's, August ult.

Another commission to Henry Cole, LL.D. to p. 391.  
be official of the Court of Canterbury; dated from To Dr. Lambeth, October 1. Another to him of the said Cole;  
date, constituting him dean of the arches, and to visit the churches in that deanery.

Another to William Geffry, LL.D. to be his To Dr. official for the diocese of Sarum, void upon the death Geffry;  
of Capon, late bishop there; dated October 18.

Another to Thomas White, LL.D. to be his To Dr. commissary, or vice-chancellor, in Oxford; dated White;  
from St. James's, December 10.

And finally, another to Thomas Chetham, *Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis Gratia*, as the commission ran, "By And to Chetham.  
the Grace of God and the Apostolic See," Bishop of Sidon: To chrism children in the foreheads; to bless and consecrate altars, fixed and portatile; cups, bells, vestments, &c. and to do all other things belonging to the office of a bishop; dated March 8. Probably Thornden, Bishop of Dover, might be dead; who,

1557. as Fox writes, looking one Sunday upon his men at bowls, fell suddenly into a palsy, and so was had to bed and died: and so this Chetham might be substituted for a suffragan in his stead. The same Fox speaks of another suffragan, ordained by the cardinal, that had been suffragan before to Bishop Bonner, and that he brake his neck down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's house at Lambeth; who, I suppose, must be this suffragan of Sidon.

Pa. 1706.  
first edit.

The visitation of both universities by the cardinal.

The cardinal also this year (that is, reckoning the year to begin in January) did visit both the universities, by certain commissioners, viz. a bishop for each: Scot of Chester for Cambridge, and Brooks of Gloucester for Oxon, and some others, members of the respective universities; and Ormanet, an Italian, the pope's datary, that came with the cardinal into England: both these visitations are related by Fox, whereunto I refer the reader. The most remarkable matters these visitors did in each university were, the severities used towards the bodies of some dead and buried people, upon pretence that they were heretics, when they were alive, viz. Bucer and Fagius, of Cambridge, whose bodies they digged out of their graves, and openly burned; and Peter Martyr's wife, of Oxon, whose body they digged up and buried in a dunghill. Dr. Stokes made the oration to the commissioners at Cambridge. The cardinal's commissioners, or visitors, for Oxon, who, besides the bishop and Ormanet, were Cole, Wright, and Morwen, were, at their first coming, entertained with an oration made by Saunders, bachelor of the law; the same who made himself afterwards so famous for his slanderous accounts of the Reformation, and for his zeal in raising rebellions in Ireland against Queen Elizabeth. In this speech he praised the cardinal most highly, and particularly for his good deserts towards that university, in sending them two Spanish readers of divinity: first, the Reverend Father De Soto, whom he commended for going before the youth in good life and learning, and thereby confirming



their minds and studies; and a little after, John de Villa Garsya, whose wit, learning, and good behaviour, the same orator also commended: and this, I suppose, was the friar John, that persuaded Cranmer to recant as he was going to the stake. Some part of this oration I have preserved in the Repository. 1557.

Another thing the cardinal now did was, that being sensible, I suppose, of burning daily such numbers of innocent people, he signified to Bonner, Bishop of London, that he would not have him to proceed to condemn the heretics, at least not to deliver them to the secular power, until he were first informed of them; being angry with him for condemning some without giving him notice: for the cardinal, by his place of legate, had a controul over the doings of the bishops in their own respective dioceses. Bonner therefore being, at this time, about to condemn two-and-twenty, brought up together, the latter end of August, from Colchester side, he sent a letter to the cardinal concerning this matter, which ran to this tenor: "That he thought to have had them all to Fulham, and to have given sentence against them, finding them desperate and obstinate, and nothing in them but pride and wilfulness; but perceiving, by his last doings, that his grace was offended, he thought it his duty, before he any thing further proceeded against them, to advertise his grace first thereof, and to know his good pleasure, which he desired he might do by the bearer." But by this seasonable stop of the cardinal's order, these two-and-twenty were sent home, and escaped, for this time, by an easy subscription.

Whether the interposing of the legate were out of clemency and pity, or out of policy, to lessen the *odium* of the popish religion, which the people conceived against it for these cruelties, I leave to others to judge. It is certain, not long before this, he was accused, by some papists, to the pope, as a bearer with heretics: upon which partly, and partly upon an old grudge against him, the pope divested him of

No. LXIV.

p. 392.  
The cardinal requires Bonner to inform him of the heretics before he condemns them.

The pope cites Pole to Rome.

1557. his legatine authority; and sent his letters to him, calling him to Rome: and sent one Peter Peto, a Franciscan friar, in his room, in quality of legate, made cardinal for that purpose. But the queen, by fair intreaties, kept her cardinal at home; and without his knowledge, commanded, that none that were sent by the pope into England, should be brought over in any English vessels, nor suffered to come into any of her ports.

The reason  
of his dis-  
pleasure  
against  
him.

This anger of the pope against Pole was twisted with temporal matters: for he imagined he was of counsel to the queen, to make war upon France; and that he by his influence should, and might, have restrained her from aiding Spain against the French; whom the pope had provoked to take up arms, to revenge himself for former affronts offered him by the Spaniards, with whom he was highly offended, and hoped, by the arms of France, to recover the kingdom of Naples. And therefore, as he told Ormanet, whom Pole had sent to him, for this negligence and unworthy sufferance, he held him unworthy of the legatine power. But the queen sided with her archbishop and relation,

The queen  
writes to  
the pope in  
his behalf.

But all this she carried with much seeming devotion and submission to his holiness: she and King Philip writing a letter to him, dated May 21, setting forth, how serviceable Pole, her cousin, had been in restoring the nation to religion, and directing her in the managery thereof, and what need there was still of him; and therefore how affective it was to her to hear, that he should be recalled, and that the legacy, which ever was annexed to the archbishopric, should be now divided from it; and therefore prayed the pope for his favour. This letter, drawn up by the neat pen of Ascham, her secretary for the Latin tongue, I have met with, and they that please may read it in the Catalogue. Together with this letter to the privy council was wrote another very pressing one to the pope in July, in commendation of the cardinal; which was their answer to the pope upon the

p. 393.

No. LXV.  
And so  
doth the  
council.

confirmation of the decree of revocation in the Consistory. It was writ, if I do not mistake the hand, by that complete Latinist, Walter Haddon, doctor of the civil law, and much employed under King Edward; but who, I suppose, now only translated it into terse Latin. This letter also is worthy preserving in the Catalogue.

1557.

No. LXVI.

The contents of their letter.

Wherein they plainly told him, “ That they could not believe a great while, that that counsel could possibly please him, in a time when his legate’s presence was so needful for the kingdom, to revoke him, having been sent from the apostolic see, and his mission confirmed by his holiness himself. That they never heard, that a legate sent from the holy see was called home, when there was such need of him, without some great crime of prince or people. That the queen had better deserved of his holiness, and so had the people too, who, since they were reconciled, had laboured, by all ways, to shew their obedience to the apostolic see. That they reckoned this act of his proceeded from his ignorance of the true state of the kingdom.—Then they shewed him how fit a person Cardinal Pole was for the great work of uniting the kingdom to the catholic church; the high opinion the people had of him, for his noble birth and excellent qualities. They urged the great danger the nation would be in of a relapse, if the legate should go; as a man newly recovering out of a great sickness would be, if he should be then destitute of his physician. They wondred most of all, as being a thing never heard of, that the pope should deprive the see of Canterbury of a legacy, which was so joined to it, that it was never known to be divided from it; and that it looked as though he should have revoked an Archbishop of Canterbury from the body of this church: for there never was Archbishop of Canterbury but he was legate; and that this legatine power was a thing not properly only to the archbishop, but the nobility, and the Kings of England, had an interest in that prerogative. And therefore they prayed



1557. his holiness, that nothing of that power might be diminished; which, if it were, would be accompanied with so great a disturbance of right and orders, and with so great ignominy of the bishops, the clergy, nobility, and princes."

A former  
letter writ  
by them to  
the pope.

p 391.

This was a second address of the nobility to the pope on this occasion; for, before this, and before the pope's revocation came (but the news thereof generally spread), the nobility wrote their letter to his holiness, to prevent his purpose, if it could be. Herein they expostulated the case with him: they urged him with a breach of promise, given them in the sacredest words about two years before, when the nation was restored to the unity of the church; which was, that the kingdom should enjoy all its old rights, privileges, and prerogatives, granted by any former popes, as fully as ever it had done before: among which this prerogative was one of the chief, pertaining to the see of Canterbury, that the Kings of England should always have the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, to be the pope's legate residing with them; and that this right all the Kings of England, not only many years, but ages past, have enjoyed; and that by the ancient laws of the land it was so constituted. And they added, that they were driven, not by their will only, but by duty and necessity, to defend it; for they were bound by oath to preserve all the dignities, just privileges, and laws of the kingdom. This was a smart letter, and may be perused in the Catalogue.

No.  
LXVII.

The queen  
writes to  
the pope.

After all, the queen also addressed a letter from herself to his holiness, to change his decree and sentence against the cardinal. The messenger that carried the letter, was ordered, in his way, to repair to King Philip, then at Cambray, that he might peruse the said letter, and according to his approbation, dispatch the courier forward with it. What his thoughts thereof were, will appear from his letter to the privy council, dated August 7: "Adeo nobis placuit consilium, responsio et expeditio facta super decreto de



revocatione Reverendissimi Cardinalis Reginaldi Poli a summo pontifice in frequenti consistorio proposito et confirmato, ut visis literis, quas sereniss. regina ad ejus sanctitatem scribebat, elegantes sanè ac omni decencia, et quibus oportebat rationibus ornatas; justissimus continuò ut cursor sine aliqua mora proficisceretur. Speramus enim tam placidis ac summissis literis, non posse summum pontificem non moveri; quinimo mutaturum sententiam ac decretum de dicta revocatione: quod nobis gratum admodum esset. Sed si id ab eo forsàn non impetrabitur, vestra prudentia providendum, id erit quod magis consentaneum ac expediens esse judicabitis." Importing, "That he was much pleased with the counsel and answer that was made in the English court, in behalf of the cardinal, upon the decree for the revocation of him, propounded and confirmed by the pope in a full consistory. That he read the queen's letter, elegantly writ, to his holiness, backed with sufficient reasons, and in such a style, as became the person she writ to. And he hoped such mild and submissive lines would move him to alter the sentence: but if not, he left it to their prudence that were of the council, to take the course they should judge most agreeable and expedient."

And as these applications were made to the pope by others in Pole's behalf, so Pole, in his own, sent a messenger, some months after, and a very sharp and close epistle to him; which shewed he did not much care for him. I have seen it in one of Mr. Petyt's MS. volumes: it is so very long, that it might be called a book rather than a letter; so that it was not to be transcribed by me, but I have extracted out of it many of the most material passages.

Cardinal  
Pole writes  
himself to  
the pope

In the beginning he thus roundly bespake his holiness: "Sanctitas vestra sic egit nobiscum, quo modo nullus unquam pontifex cum ullo cardinale. Ita fit ut cum ipsa exemplo careat in iis quæ contra me fecit, ego et exemplo caream; quo pacto me erga sanctitatem v. gerere debeam. Nec enim ullum

1557. quod sciam extat exemplum summi pontificis, qui cardinali in suspitione hæresis a se vocato, cum is apostolici legati munere fungeretur, antequam ad causam dicendam accerseretur, legationem abroga-  
verit, atque in ejus locum, alterum substituerit.”—

p. 395. That is, “Your holiness hath dealt with me after that inanner as no pope ever did with any cardinal. So that, as you are without example in what you have done against me, I also shall be without an example, how I ought to behave myself towards your holiness; for there is no example extant, as I know of, of a pope, who, when himself had called a cardinal into suspicion of heresy, should deprive him of his legacy, and put another in his place, and that even while he was performing the office of a legate, before he was cited to plead his own cause.”

Confe-  
rence be-  
tween this  
pope and  
Pole, at his  
departure  
for Eng-  
land.

There had been an old enmity in this pope towards Pole, while they were both cardinals at Rome; arising, as it seems, from a report that went about, as though Pole favoured Lutheranism. But our cardinal being to come away for England, they both had a meeting and serious communication together of this matter, at St. Paul’s Church in Rome; where Pole did so sufficiently vindicate himself, and give such full satisfaction to the other, that, at parting, he used these words unto Pole (which in this his letter he put him in mind of): “If God (said he) grant us both such a space of life, to meet together in another conclave, you shall understand what this old man (pointing to himself) will do for your sake—(meaning, that he would give his voice and interest for him to make him pope). But, if at this departure (said Pole) this story were not at an end, I thought that when we gratulated the pope, we were come to a *plaudite*. And if it were not then ended, certainly when I was made archbishop, I reckoned there would an end be put to these slanders of me.”

Again,

“If any one should so abuse the name of catholic, as to accuse me in any wise of heresy, I am suffi-

ciently armed against that by your holinesses own testimony, which you gave of me; when in a full consistory you spake of conferring upon me the archbishopric.

1557.  
Clears him-  
self from  
favouring  
heresy.

“ *Post tam honorificum testimonium*, after this so honourable a testimony, and that your holiness heareth nothing since concerning me, but strifes and contentions with the remainders of the heretics and schismatics, and illustrious victories over them, to the great encrease of catholic religion, and the honour of the apostolic see, that you should now study to render me suspected of the crime of heresy and misbelief.”

Again, “ All that God hath in this realm done by me, is most ingrateful to heretics; who rejoice in nothing so much as that this name (of *heretic*) is imposed upon me by your holiness, as I hear many now do. But grant, I had sometime not only assented to the doctrine of the heretics (which is very far from the truth) but combined with them against the church, and had openly opposed it; yet, at this time, wherein all see such a glorious victory of Christ, obtained for the unity and obedience of the church against heretics, by me, a minister of the apostolic see, and of your holiness, and the daily conflicts I have with them for their and others salvation, and the glory of the apostolic see; he that were a truly godly and catholic man, would not object to me the impiety of the time past, or call me to answer for it, but rather would give God thanks, that it is with me as it was with Paul; that he that before opposed the church, now most earnestly defended it, and reduced many to the bosom of the church, and, by all means, convinced and restrained such as were rebellious and obstinate. But the course of my whole life is led in the obedience of the faith, and of the Roman church; and those that most opposed it, chiefly sought me, and laid snares for me, and intended my ruine. My whole employment and labour is, that I may daily gain more

p. 596.

1557. to Christ and the church, and to cut off those that are obstinate as rotten members."

The legate's service to the see ill requited.

"An potui ego suspicari fore, ut cujus pietatem ita defenderim dignitati et honori ita faverim, qui pontifex tantum, ex hac Christi et ecclesiæ victoria, honoris fructum ceperit, me ministro, quantum multis adhinc seculis nullus pontifex cujusquam legati sui opera; is mihi tam insignem contumeliam mercedis loco redderet. Verò quod ego suspicari non potui, hoc tandem accidit, ut alia aliquando præter omnium hominum opinionem et judicium accidunt." That is: "Could I ever think it would happen, that he, whose piety I so defended, whose honour and dignity I bare such an inclination unto, who being pope, from this victory of Christ and the church, reaped such respect and esteem by my service, as for many ages past no pope ever did by any legate, should, instead of a reward, requite me with such a signal reproach; but, what I, for my part, could not suspect, fell out, as other things sometimes happen, beside the opinion and judgment of all men."

The pope, the judge, becomes his accuser.

Again, "In vain I seem to strive against him, who being constituted by Christ supreme judge on earth, takes upon him the person of an accuser, and saith, he doth it not out of an ill will: for what ill will should he have towards me, by whom he never was offended? But rather he had many causes of love and friendship with Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Moron; but when God's cause was in hand, and the purity of faith (these are the pope's words) all the bonds, even the straitest bonds of human friendship, must be cast off. — 'Se cogitare, collegium ab omni suspicione hæresis purgatum successorì relinquere.' That he was thinking of leaving the college of cardinals to his successor, purged of all suspicion of heresy. And because there were none of the whole college more suspected than those two, therefore he would begin his purgation with them, and therein he thought he should offer a grateful sacrifice to God.



“ Pole challenged any to shew particularly any fault of his. The pope, he said, specified none, but only that he suspected him, and that for many years. 1557.

“ In this letter he gave the pope an account how the queen managed the matter, viz. That when the queen went to the sea-side to take her leave of the king, her husband, the cardinal being absent, she received there, by her ambassador, letters from the pope concerning taking away the legacy from Pole, but leaving him the other legacy of the archiepiscopal see. Letters were also then sent to the cardinal to the same effect: of which, the letters being detained from him, and not delivered, he was ignorant: but when he knew some other way, he sent to the secretary and the queen to know, if there were any letters to him from the pope. At first they dissembled; at last the queen confessed it, that she had letters both to him and herself concerning the embassy sent to his holiness to Rome; but that she would not deliver his letters to him till she were come to London, and saw him there. A few days after, she told him all with much grief of mind, which she shewed in her countenance and words.”

How the queen managed this affair.

p. 397.

Whereas the queen had forbid the pope's *nuncio*, in this transaction, to come over into England, but to tarry on the other side of the sea; thus did Pole represent the matter to the pope: “ The *nuncio* was commanded to tarry at Calais until the queen's messenger, whom she would send to Rome, should come back again: which she said she did for just causes, and which she doubted not his holiness would approve of. Which when our cardinal understood, he immediately went (he said) to the queen, and moved her and the council, that he should be permitted to come without any delay. But the queen and council began presently to contend with him, and tell him, that he should not interpose himself in this matter, but leave the whole affair to the queen; and withal, they desired him to go forward with the office of the legacy, until he should receive the pope's

The nuncio commanded to tarry at Calais.

1557. *breves* concerning it; but Pole refused to do it. But they told him, that the pope had said to the queen's ambassador, that he (the cardinal) should be moved with no rumors, although all affirmed the legacy were taken from him, nor should desist in performing this office, until he should receive a *breve* concerning it from the pope. To which Pole answered (as he relates in his letter) that if the pope said so, that he did it when he suspected little less than that his *nuncio* that brought the *breve*, should be forbid to come to him: and that since he knew this, he would not long execute the office of the legate: but if they would permit his holinesses *nuncio* to come, he would execute it until he came. But since he could not persuade the queen nor her counsellors to suffer this, he would no longer perform that office. And while things were in this state, he resolved to send to his holiness, his auditor, Nicolas Ormanet, who, in all that time of his legacy, performed his office with much faithfulness and praise of godly men; that he should give account of the cardinal's doings."

Pole desists his office. And

Sends Ormanet to the pope.

The reproach Pole suffered by the pope.

He said, "That he must be pardoned, though he said that his holiness had so offended him, ' Ut ' nullus unquam cardinalis ab ullo pontifice majori ' contumelia sit affectus, cum majores illa (*sanctitas vestra*) quidem, fructus honoris ex meis laboribus, ' quam multis jam seculis ullus pontifex cujusquam ' legati sui operâ ceperit.' That never any cardinal suffered more reproach from a pope, though your holiness hath reaped greater fruit of honour from my labours, than any pope by any legate, for many ages, ever did."

And trouble the queen underwent.

And speaking concerning the troubles this affair had created the queen, he subjoined, " Since these things are so, let your holiness consider what that spirit is, that casteth this mother of obedience into so great sorrow and consternation. For so may the queen be well called, whom God hath made a mother of sons rejoycing in the sight of the whole church; joyful in sons which she hath begotten to

the church; joyful in the assistants of so noble a birth, which Christ had given her.—What a doleful spectacle doth your holiness set before this holy woman, ‘Cum regem, ejus virum fulmine vocis suæ schismaticum, me hæreticum vocat:’ when by the thunder of your voice you call the king her husband schismatic, and me heretic.” 1557.  
p. 398.

The issue at length of this business was, that the pope for the present sent word by Ormanet, Pole’s messenger, that he might for a time still remain legate, as he was before. And soon after, his nominated legate, Peto, died on the other side of the sea. Pole continues legate.

In fine, this matter between the pope and Cardinal Pole, doth the author of the book, intitled, “Execution for Treason and not for Religion,” thus set forth, and make his remark of: “Neither was Queen Mary (a person not little devoted to the Roman religion) so afraid of the pope’s cursings, but that both she and her whole council, and that with the assent of all the judges of the realm, according to the antient laws, in favour of Cardinal Pole her kinsman, did forbid the entry of his bulls, and of a cardinal’s hat at Calais, that was sent from the pope to one Friar Peyto, whom the pope did assign to be a cardinal in disgrace of Cardinal Pole: neither did Cardinal Pole himself at the same time obey the pope’s commandments, nor shewed himself afraid, being assisted by the queen, when the pope did threaten him with pain of excommunication: but did still oppose himself against the pope’s commandment for the said pretended Cardinal Peyto: who, notwithstanding all the threatnings of the pope, was forced to go up and down in the streets of London like a begging friar. A stout resistance in a queen for a poor cardinal’s hat.” The stoutness of the queen remarked.  
Printed anno 1553.

I add only one thing more concerning this affair, that upon occasion of the aforesaid revoking of the cardinal from being legate, and appointing the same office to Friar Peyto, there were certain questions The pope’s jurisdiction inquired into.

1557. put to some of the learned lawycrs of this realm, touching the pope's jurisdiction in England: which, together with their answers, are still extant in the Paper House. This was like to prove somewhat dangerous to the pope, had he not desisted.

The cardinal's  
speech to  
the Londoners.

p. 399.

I have one thing more to relate of our cardinal, which I find no footsteps of in any history. Great industry had been used to get the old monkery restored, and the abbeys built again. The queen's conscience was so possessed with it, that she had above two years ago, publicly before her treasurer, and several of her great officers, restored back the abbey-lands that remained in the possession of the crown. The pope urged it excessively to the English ambassadors; and no question the cardinal was often solicited from Rome about it. This year, on St. Andrew's Day, the great festival of the reconciliation with Rome, yearly solemnized, he either came in person into the city of London, or sent for the chief magistrates thercof to him, and made to them a long harangue concerning the religious buildings, and the churches demolished, and the revenues thereof seized; exhorting the citizens to launch out their purses towards religious buildings, and the endowments thereof: "Calling them first to penance, as having their hands in that sacrilege; and that they should do worthy fruits of penance; which partly consisted in rebuilding of those houses, which would be a noble act, and grateful to God, and profitable to the realm. But this being more than the city of itself could compass, he bad them begin with the repair of their parish churches, now run into great decay of themselves, and spoiled of their revenues and goods, as the monasteries were. He took occasion hence to direct his speech to such citizens as had obtained the goods and lands of the church into their hands. From them especially he required a competent part thereof back again to the church, for the repairing her ruins, as the church had willingly yielded, that they should enjoy what they had



got. He compared such to a child, to whom the mother gave an apple; which she perceiving him feed much upon, and knowing it would do him hurt, asked a piece of him, but he would not part with any. In the meantime the father comes in, and in anger beats the child for his unkindness, and takes it all away, and throws it out of the window. This, as he applied it, might Christ, the church's husband, do. (And that, as he, I suppose, secretly meant, by Christ's vicar the pope.) Then he exhorted them to this under the name of almsdeeds: praising Italy for this virtue, saying, there was more given in two cities in Italy to monasteries and poor folks in one month, than in this realm in one whole year. Another fruit of their penance should be to honour the church, and priesthood, as before it was so dishonoured, this nation being gone further therein, than any schismatical nation had done, that ever he read of. Not that he would have them be at any further charge, than to give them that part which God had reserved to himself; and those were the tithes of all kinds: which when they denied the priest, they denied to give God his part. Another worthy fruit of their penance would be their discovering of heretics: for there could not be a greater work of cruelty (he said) against the commonweal, than to nourish and favour any such. None so pernicious to the commonweal, no thieves, murderers, adulterers; and no kind of treason to be compared to theirs. And as for those many holy men, that now for three years had been fryed to death, and burnt most barbarously to ashes, he made no more of than, as he styled them, "A multitude of brambles and briars cast into the fire. Then, to flatter the citizens, he ran out into the praises of Sir Thomas More, a citizen born, who parted with his life to maintain the pope's authority. And added to him much speech of Bishop Fisher, and the other monks that sacrificed their lives to the pope's cause. He descended to urge parents and masters to reduce the younger sort to the old re-

1537. ligion; which sort was generally bent to heresy; which appeared in that when any heretic went to execution, he wanted not encouragement to dye in his opinion; and while in prison so much cherishing. He proceeded to exhort them earnestly to the observation of the ceremonies, because men could not live without ceremonies; and that at the observation of them, began the very education of the children of God, as the law shewed, that they were the pedagogues to Christ. The heretics made this the first part of schism and heresy, to destroy the unity of  
p. 400. the church, by contempt or change of ceremonies, as God made it the beginning of his good education of his children, the Jews. That the observation of ceremonies gave more light than all the reading of scripture, whereto the heretics did so cleave, could do; had the reader never so good a wit to understand what he read, and though he put as much diligence in reading as he could, with the contempt of ceremonies: and that they were most apt to receive light, that were more obedient to follow ceremonies than to read. That many fell into heresy by thinking no better way to come to the knowledge of God, and his laws, than by reading of books: wherein (he said) they were sore deceived; and that the principal way to come to the light of the knowledge of God and his ways, was not gotten by reading, but by taking away the impediment of that light; and they be our sins which were taken away by the sacrament of penance."

"Lastly, He exhorted them to alms, that is, to that sort of alms that consisted in building monasteries, by the example of Italy, the country whence he came. That in Venice there were above threescore monasteries, and in Florence above fourscore; and the most part founded by the voluntary alms of the citizens; and that this was a mighty reproach to the city of London, where were not ten places, neither hospitals, nor monasteries, within the city, nor about it: and, as for the citizens themselves, the poor

might dye for hunger." This is the sum of his long discourse, which may be read, by them that please, in the Catalogue. 1557.

No.  
LXVIII.

## CHAP. LII.

Matters relating to the gospellers. Trudgeover, Rough, and Richard Gibson, martyrs. Gibson's confession.

LET us now turn our eyes to the gospellers, and to their dealings with them; which may in part appear by this Journal following, which seems to have been an exscript out of the Council Book. Letters and orders of council for heretics.

" July 28. Sondrie letters to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Stafford, the maior of Rochester, and bayliffs of Colchester, to signify to the council what moved them to stay from execution such persons as had bene condemned for religion, and delyvered to them by their ordinaryes." Fox's MSS

" August 3. Where sondrie letters had bene before directed to divers justices for the apprehension of one Trudgeover, he being taken and executed by Mr. Anthony Browne, sergeant-at-law, in Essex; a letter as this day was directed to the said Sergeant Browne, geving hym thanks for his diligent proceeding against the said Trudge. Willing hym to distribute his head and quarters according to his and his colleagues former determinations, and to procede with his complices according to the qualities of their offences." Letters to Browne concerning Trudgeover.

A word or two of this man by the way. His true name was George Eagles, some time a tailor by occupation. He was called *Trudge* and *Trudgeover*, and *Trudge over the World*, because of his extraordinary and continual travels about from place to place, to exhort and confirm the brethren. The council had heard of him, and sent orders to waylay him. But he and his company concealed themselves a great while in the northern parts of Essex, in privy closets and barns, in holes and thickets, in fields and woods. Some account of Trudgeover.

p. 401.

1557. At length such a thirst there was for his blood, that a proclamation went out into four counties, where his chief haunts were, viz. Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent, to take him, promising twenty pounds as a reward; which encouraged more diligent search for him, and soon after he was taken in a field, not far from Colchester, whence he had fled. At the sessions at Chelmsford he was indicted of treason, because he had assembled companies together contrary to the laws of the realm; it being enacted not long before, to avoid sedition, that if men should flock together, above six, it was made treason. In fine, he was cast, condemned, and cruelly hanged, drawn and quartered, as a traitor; and, as though he were one of the worst sort of rebels, his four quarters were set up in four several great places, namely, Colchester, Harwich, St. Osiths, and Chelmsford, where on the market-cross his head also was advanced, for a terror. In which service Sergeant Brown, living at North Weald, as he had the main hand, so in the aforesaid letter he had the council's thanks. One of the reasons, I suppose, that made the council so offended with this Trudgeover was, because he was accused in his meetings to pray to God, "To change the queen's heart, or soon to take her away:" though at his trial he denied that he prayed any more, than that God would change her heart.

"Aug. 7. The lords understanding, by Sir John Butler's letter, being sheriff of Essex, that his undersheriff had respited a woman from execution, which should have been burned at Colchester, did set a fyne upon Sir John his head of ten pounds, for that he was to answer his deputies doings."

"Decemb. 27. A letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, with the examination of a Scottish man, named John Rough, presently sent unto Newgate, willing him to procede against the said Rough, according to the laws."

This letter is extant in Fox, but the date there is



not the 27th, but the 15th, which is the truer. This 1557.  
 Rough was a considerable man. He had been twice J. Rough,  
 at Rome. In his younger days he was a black friar, the minis-  
 in Sterling, in Scotland; afterwards chaplain to Ha- ter, martyr.  
 milton Earl of Arran, and, living at St. Andrew's, he  
 had a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King  
 Henry, being probably a promoter of that king's re-  
 putation and interest in those parts. In the begin-  
 ning of King Edward's time, becoming known unto  
 the Duke of Somerset, he had the same yearly pen-  
 sion allowed him, and was sent as a preacher to  
 Carlisle, Barwick, and Newcastle. In this reign of  
 King Edward, the Archbishop of York gave him a  
 benefice near Hull. In Queen Mary's time he and  
 his wife fled to Freezland, and dwelt at Norden  
 there; and there got a poor living by knitting. In  
 October, 1557, coming into England for yarn, it so  
 fell out, that he became minister to the congregation  
 of gospellers at London, among whom he celebrated  
 divine service by King Edward's Communion Book.  
 At one of their meetings at Islington, December 12, p. 402.  
 he was taken, and condemned, and burnt ten days  
 after in Smithfield. This man wrote a letter to the  
 congregation, a little before his death, wherein he  
 bade them "Look up with their eyes of hope, for  
 the redemption was not far off: but my *wickedness*,"  
 as he added, "*hath deserved that I shall not see it.*"  
 Whose prophecy, if I may so call it, fell true; for  
 within the year Queen Mary died, and the gospel  
 was restored. Dr. Watson, now Bishop of Lincoln,  
 hastened his death. This man, once in King Ed-  
 ward's reign, preached a sermon in the North (per-  
 haps at York or Hull) wherein he vented such doc-  
 trine, that he was like to have been prosecuted for  
 treason; but this Rough, by his interest, saved his  
 life. Watson happened to be present once when  
 Rough was brought before Bishop Bonner, and, for-  
 getting his former kindness, presently informed the  
 said bishop, that he had known Rough in the North,  
 and that he was a pestilent heretic there, where he

1557. had done more harm than an hundred besides of his opinion. Whereat Rough asked him, "Why, Sir, is this the reward you give me, for saving your life in King Edward's days, when you preached erroneous doctrine?"

By these letters and orders of council, it appears how severely the state still went on against all that complied not with the old religion; and how ungrateful to the sheriffs and magistrates this burning work was; so that they ventured to stay these executions, and the council was fain to quicken them by letters and fines.

R. Gibson,  
a prisoner,  
his declaration.

Among those that suffered for religion under Queen Mary, Richard Gibson, a gentleman, was one, who being surety for a debt, had lain long in the Poultry Counter, London. This man, upon suspicion of holding amiss in the points of the sacrament, and authority of the church, was required by the bishop to make a declaration of his mind in the doctrine of the sacrament, and to subscribe it, in order to his dismissal. He therefore, the last year, in the month of October, drew it up warily, in words of scripture, and submitted himself to the church in general terms, viz.

"EMANUEL.

Fox's MSS. "FORASMUCH as my long imprisonment, as also the cause of the same, is not hyd, therefore have I thought myself in conscience bownd, for the avoyding of offence, to make it known, that as what I hold for an infallible and an undoubted truth, I hold it not of presumption, nor yet of men, neyther for that men say so, and affirm it so to be, as is supposed, but of a pure and single conscience before God and man, as I am taught by the word; by whose power men, and all things that ever wer made, have their being; and without whose power no man can speak the truth: and therefore, without it must nedes be lyers. And that it may appere that I so do, therefore thus I say:

"Because our Savior Jesus Christ at his last sup-

per took bread, and when he had geven thanks brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is geven for you*; and in like manner took the cup, and gave it to his disciples, and said, *This is my bloud of the New Testament, which is shed for many*; and sayd, *This do in remembrance of me*: therfore I do believe, that, as the church is authorized by the power of the word to minister it, as they are taught by the same, so do I affirm, and believe as often, when and where I do receive it, that I do eat the flesh and drink the blood of my Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. And to this holy catholick church of Christ I humbly submit myself, promising therein to lyve to the uttermost of my knowledge by the grace of God, as it shall become a good Christian man; and here, in this realm, to lyve as it becometh a true subject unto the king and queen's majesty, and also to be obedient to all other their majesties rulers and officers, and of them sent: so far as I may lawfully be, without offence either to God or man. If I may not be permitted so to lyve, I am fully resolved, by the grace of God, without resistance, as I am tawght by the word, with patience to possess my soul.

By me, Ric. Gybson, 27 of Octob.  
Anno Dom. 1556."

Such general submissions as these the prisoners now and then would make, and sometimes they escaped by them, when they had to deal with ecclesiastical officers disposed to mercy: but this declaration of Gybson would not now do. And, besides, he was suspected of disliking the mass, disowning the seven sacraments, approving the English service in King Edward's days, and for not coming to his parish church, nor bearing tapers upon Candlemas Day, nor taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday; for being against confession to a priest, and such like. Whereupon Bishop Bonner sent thirteen articles to him to purge him, requiring a direct an-

1537. swer thereunto. Gybson was minded to subscribe for the saving of his life, but yet would have done it in a more wary style, and in expressions more qualified, for the better salving of his own conscience. So he drew up his answer to the articles in this manner following :

EMANUEL.

“ Psalm 55. B. *In God's word will I rejoyce ; in the Lord's word will I comfort me.*

Another  
confession  
of Gybson.

“ *First* of all, I openly protest, before God and man, that I have both taught and believed, and do so think and believe, that the faith, religion and service, used now in this realm of England, of them which are in part of the church of Christ, and members of his body, is good and laudable, and not against God's holy word, but most agreeable unto the same ; and especially in the true use of baptism, confirmation, penance, the Supper of the Lord (reverently called of the Grecians, *eucharistia*, and of the Latinians, *gratiarum actio*, and *sacrificium laudis*) order, matrimony and unction. And do openly protest, before God and man, that I am contented in all things to conform myself unto the same ; as trew subjects of this realm have done, and do, without any murmuring, grudging, or scruple thereyn.

p 104.

“ *Secondly*, I sai, as there is nothing done by man (as of man) that cannot be amended, so I say, that the service set forth in England, in the time of King Edward VI. was not, in all points, so godly and catholic, but that, in some things, it both ought and might have well been mended. And I would to God that it, which is now used within this realm, were also faultless ; then doutless it should be no occasion of horrible bloudshed, as it is.

“ *Thirdly*, I say, though I am, nether by the law of God, nor yet by the law of this realme, under any penaltie bound to ether place or tyme, to heare or learne any thinges, whatsoever it be ; though it be ther and then never so well done : yet, I say, that



the holy word of God doth teache all men, not only when they are at libertie, but also beyng prysoners, yf they may conveniently do it, to repaire to all places, where they may do good to others; much more where they may do good to themselves; and chiefly, if they so can, for the avoidyng of offences. The which is all men's part to avoid, if thei can; wher they are most resiaunte, and continually dwell-yng.

“*Fourthly*, I say, as God hath geven no churche, people, or congregation, hie or low, or any rulers thereof, leave, authorite of power to do what seemeth them good in ther own eyes, but hath straitly commanded, and geven them in charge, upon the payne of utter destruction, both in this world and the world to come, to leave undone what as is commaunded; and further, to do, if nede so require, what as may be to the benefit and edifying of them that are under ther charge: which, to do it, is the right God's service, and his trewe honour. All which holy ordynaunces, usages and ceremonyes, thinges used and done by them, I knowlege myself, and all other inferiour persons, upon the like payne of utter destruction, to be bounde to observe and kepe: and in no wise them, or any of them, stubbornly to breake or refuse.

“*Fifthly*, I say, a preste or mynister, in whose lippes is sure knowledge, and in whose mowthe is the word of truethe, over his charge appointed hyme by the ruler, hath power by the word, as occasion shall serve, to bynd and to lose. And that this charge ought, for order sake, and for avoidyng of offences, to receave of hyin what, as he ought, and may lawfully mynister unto them, without any stubborne refusal of the same.

“*Sixthly*, I say, that all men, of what degre, dignite, estate, or calling soever they be, for an infallible trueth, are to hold and beleve the holy scriptures of God, geven to us by the Holy Ghost; which is his wisdom; and them to take as a sure rule to walk by to eternal life. And also, that no inferior person

1557. thorow wilful boldness, may be so male-pert, as to reject, or hold as frivolous, any determinations or order made by the holy church, not repugnaunt unto the same; and also that no maner man follow or believe, after his own pryvate will or conscience, contrarye to the deternynation and order, and doctryne of the same. For the Holy Ghost counteth him as a *Foole that is wise in his own conceit*; and saith, *That strypes are prepared for the fool's back.*

p. 405. “*Seventhly*, I say, that all things do not chaunge of a presise, absolute power, and mere necessite; but that all men, except such, after transgression, as a just reward for ther synnes, are geven over into a lewd mynd, according to the knowledge they have receaved of God, have power in mynde; in that they know to will, and not to will.

“*Eighthly*, Agayne, I say, for that I am ignorant of many things, which are allowed within this realme of England; and especially now used about the christenyng of infants, therefore in them I will use silence, till I be thereyn better instructed; lest that in allowyng, or disallowyng what I know not, I make myself to appear a foole in myne own judgment. I have not so learned with myne own heart, to rejoyce myne enemyes. But this, I say, as all the ordynances of God are very good and very holy, so I say, that baptysme, when and wheresoever it is ministred, as the Holy Ghost doth teach, it is very good, and very holye, and cannot but be effectual.

“*Ninthly*, For that I find them only to be sayncts, the which, through faith, are sanctified in the bloud of Jesus Christ, by the Holy Ghost, and none other; and that as they are all members of one body, so have they nede of help one of another: therefore, I say, that prayer unto, with and for sayncts is good; and do not think it contrary to God's words, but agreeable to the same; and nedeful to be used, because our necessity requireth. And also, for that I find in other places, of the holy servantes of God, what cannot be broken; as by the example of La-

zarus and Dyves, after this life, hell to be the ymmmediate place of the wicked, and heaven to be the ymmmediate place of the good; therefore, I dare not but say, as the Holy Ghost doth teache, that the good are in heavyn, and the wicked in hell. This, notwithstanding this I say, if there be a people departed, which are neither good nor bad; and so to be, are allowed of God, whereof as yet I am ignorant, I protest then, I think them to abyde, till they be allowed before God, either as good or bad, in such a place as is neither good nor bad, till otherwise to be they are allowed of God. What it is called (if ther be any such place) whether it be *purgatory*, or not, I know not; and if be, prayer for the dead be beneficial for any, then must be nedes profit these or none. 1557.

“*Tenthly*, I say, for that no private opynion, be it true or false, is the cause of any man’s salvation or damnation, or any just cause, but only an occasion for men to be justified or condemned therby; and though they therein dyed never so stoutly; therefore I will no more condemne Frier Barnes, Garet, Jearrow, Rogers, Howper, Cardmaker, Latynier, Taylour, Bradford, Filpot, Ridley, Cranmer, and such like, the which of late have suffered, then I will justify Feverston, Abell, Powel, Friar Forest, Moore, Fisher, the monks of the Charter-house, and such like, which before their tyme also suffered. And for that all men, whatsoever they be, are utterly forbid the determinate judgment of salvation or dampnation; because it is the office of God only, which therein will do according to his own will or pleasure, otherwise than we know, or as we shall know: therefore I say, as it ought not to be used among men, so it ought not to be required of any man. Wherefore if any man therein will excede, I will exhort him, from henceforth in charity, to excede therein. For this much of some of them I am able to say of mine own knowledge, if they in their tyme had byn gredy by death to have such allowed their enemies; doubtless some of them that now succede, had not bene

p. 406.

1557. alive to rejoyce, as they do. I would advise either quality, or else, if it be possible, more charity: for it was never more needful.

“*Eleventhly*, I say, as fasting, prayer, and all deeds of charity, are the ordynances of God, taught by the testimony of his holy word; so, I say, they are not only lawful to be frequented, and used in tymes and places convenyent; but also ought of every man, according to that he hath, to be frequented and used, as they are taught by the same. And also, I say, that for the infyrmyties sake, them which want, as well knowledge as power to bridle and rule themselves, the rulers have full power and auctority to appoint both days and tymes of common fasting and prayer. So that they do it to the edifying of their church, and not to snare them withal.

“*Twelfthly*, I say, that the institution of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not an idol, nor abhomynation, but is a most blessed, comfortable, and holy ordynance, most thankfully to be frequented, and used of all his church and people; and do evidently believe, that so often, when and where it is dewly mynistred, as our Saviour Jesus Christ did it for an example; that then and there, by the mynysters, is trewly gyven the same body and bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that was crucified and shed for our synns, and none other. And also, I say, it is no idolatry nor superstition to recyve it, and to kepe the holy ordynance of the same, nor to adore, nor worship. The same Christ sitteth and reigneth eternal God and King for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, might, rule and power, for ever and ever, world without ende, *Amen*.

“*Thirteenthly*, I say, as the great and honourable authority and power, and authority of rulers, is not doubted of, and what they may lawfully do to undoubted offenders, is not unknown: therefore I will therein, with reverence, use silence. But, that I say, as no ruler, of what degree soever they be, may lawfully punish any for that which is not spoken, nor done; so say I, a bishop for his office sake much



less may do it. If all rulers, in all cases, be forbidden the use of unlawful rigour, as I am sure they are, how can he excuse himself of fault, that use unlawful rigour to any man for the secrecy of his conscience? 1537.

“ The proud have laid a snare for me, and spread a net abroad with cordes ; yea, and set trapps in my way. But myne eyes loke unto thee, O Lord, my God. For in thee is my trust. Oh ! cast not out my soul. Keep me from the snare which they have laid for me, and from the trapps of wicked doers ; and let the ungodly fall into their own nets together, until I be gone by theym.” Ps. 139. Ps. 140.

This man, we see, by these wary expressions, and smooth, seemingly complying paragraphs, under the distinct contested articles, shewed, or rather hid, what his true thoughts of religion were. And hence we may observe another sort of professors of the gospel, (if we may call them so) who, under this cruel government, endeavoured to save their lives, by thus artificially concealing and keeping their opinions to themselves ; and by an outward conformity to the present superstitions, errors and corruptions. And there were a great many timorous men and women, in these persecuting days, that were feign thus to temporize, and shift to save their lives, and salve their consciences, as well as they could. p. 407. Temporalizers.

But neither would this confession serve Bishop Bonner's turn : for he saw well enough through it, however obscurely Gybson had drawn it up to deceive him, and save his own conscience. That he therefore should speak fully home to the purpose, and acknowledge divers things that the bishop laid to his charge, he required him to give such answer to thirteen articles, as whereby he should effectually accuse himself. So Gybson drew up another seeming confession, cunningly worded ; which, if the bishop would be deceived by, he might. But he framed it so, that it might be understood, not as though he acknowledged what was contained in the words, but Another obscure confession of Gybson.

1557. that Bonner would have him so to acknowledge. And the whole writing he intimated to be false, by affixing two verses out of the Psalms, one at the top of this paper, and the other at the end of it: and this is a copy of it.

“ O ye sons of men, why will ye blaspheme mine honour? Why have ye such pleasure in vanity, and seek after lies ?

#### ARTICLES

“ Given by the Bishop of London, to be confessed or denied by Richard Gybson, in his answer to be made thereunto, *Yea* or *Nay*.

“ *First*, I have both thowght, beleved and spoken, and so do thynke, beleve and speke, that the fayth, relygion, and ecclesiastical service, observed and used now in thys realm of England, is good and laudable, and not agaynst God’s commandments, or word, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments; being contented in all thyngs to conform myself unto the same, as true subjects of these realms have don, and do, without any murmuring, grudging or scruple threin.

“ *Second*, I have likewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that the English servyce, set furth here in thys realm of England, in the time of K. Edward the Sixth, was in many poynts ungodly and not catholick; and therefore not to be received, continued, or used here in thys realm.

p. 408. “ *Thyrdly*, I have lykewyse thought, spoken and beleved, that I am bounden, being at lybertie, to come to my parysh church, and to be present, and to hear matins, mass, and even-song, with other divine service sung and sayd.

“ *Fowrthly*, I have lykewyse thowght, beleved and spoken, that I am bownden, being at lybertie, to come to procession to my parysh church upon days and tymes appoynted, and to go therin with others, syngyng or saying accustomed prayers, and also to

bear a taper or a candel upon Candelmas-Day, and take ashes upon Ash-Wensday, bear palme upon Palmsunday, crepe the cross upon days and tymes accustomed, to receyve and kyss the pax at mass-tyme, to receyve holy bread and holy water ; and fynally, to accept and allow all the ordynances, ceremonies and usages of the church, after the maner and fashion as they are now used in thys realm of England. 1557.

“ *Fyfthly*, I have lykewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that I am bownd to confess my sinns to a priest, and to receyve absolution of them at his hands, being God’s minister ; and also to receyve of the priest the sacrament of the altar, at tymes accustomed, after the form and maner as is now used in the Church of England.

“ *Sixthly*, I have lykewyse thought, beleved and spoken in matters of religion and fayth, and beleve I ought to give credyt to the determynation and common order of the catholick church and see of Rome, and members thereof, and not to follow or beleve after my private will or conscience, contrary to the sayd determynation and order.

“ *Seventhly*, I have lykewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that all things do not chance of a precise, absolute power, and mere necessity, but that a man hath by God’s grace a free choyse and wyll in hys doyngs.

“ *Eighthly*, I have lykewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that the fashionyng and maner of christenyng, here used in this realm of England, is not against the word, but agreable and conformable unto the same : and that one may be effectually baptized, and therby saved, before he come to the age of discretion.

“ *Ninthly*, I have lykewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that prayer to saints, and prayer for the dead, is not contrary to God’s word, but agreeable to the same, and profitable : and that the souls departed have a mean place, commonly

1557. called purgatory, and do not sleep till the day of dome.

“*Tenthly*, I have likewyse thought, beleved and spoken, that such as in the time of K. Henry VIII. and in the time of Q. Mary now, have bene condemned and burned for heresie, were hereticks, unfaithful, and no good Christen people; specially Fryer Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hoper, Cardmaker, Latymer, Tayler, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and such like. I have not liked, allowed, or approved any of their opinions so condemned.

“*Eleventhly*, I have likewise thought, believed and spoken, that fastyng and prayer now used in the Church of England, and the appoynting of days and tymes for fastyng, and abstayning from flesh upon fastyng days, and specially in the tyme of Lent, is good and laudable, and not against God’s word. And therefore persons ought not at all tymes to have liberty to eat all kinds of meat.

p. 409. “*Twelfthly*, I have lykewyse thought, believed and spoken, that the sacrament of the altar is not an idol nor abhomynation, but that in it is really, &c. the very body and blood in substance of our Saviour Christ; and that it is no idolatry or superstition to receyve and kepe the sayd sacrament, and also adore it, yea, and to lift it up at the levation and sacryng time.

“*Thirteenthly*, I have likewise thought, believed and spoken, that a person offending or trespassing by words or otherwise in matter of religion, belief and faith, within any bishop’s diocess of this realm, and being called for the same before the said bishop, within whose diocess he doth so offend or trespass, though he were not there originally born, is bound to make answer thereunto, yea, upon his oath, if he be by the said bishop or ordinary so required.”

Psalm 12. “O! that the Lord would root out all deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud



things. Which say, our tongue should prevail: we are they that ought to speak: who is Lord over us?" 1557.

A little before this, as it seems (upon occasion of his denying to be confessed and absolved, in order to the receiving the sacrament at Easter 1557, a priest, against this time, being provided for the prisoners in the Poultry Compter, where Gybson lay) Bishop Bonner objected, and administered nine articles to him. He also, soon after, in the month of April, bantered the bishop by ministering nine (that is just as many) articles to him; and sending him a second paper, consisting also of the same number of nine articles, describing what manner of man a good bishop ought to be. By which he might see how far short himself fell of that character.

Gybson  
sends two  
papers to  
Bonner.

The former paper he began, according to his custom, with suitable verses out of the Psalms, applicable enough to this proud prelate, viz.

## EMANUEL.

"When a man is in honour, and hath no understanding, he is compared unto the brute beasts, and becometh like unto them. Wherefore, O ye judges of the earth, be ye learned, and ye rulers, serve the Lord with fear, and rejoyce before them with reverence. Embrace righteousness and judgment. Accept not the persons of the ungodly; lest the Lord be angry, and so ye perish from the right way."

Fox's Acts,  
first edit.  
Ps. 49.

Ps. 2.  
Ps. 8.

Then follow the paper of articles, thus intituled,

"Articles proponed by Richard Gybson, unto Edmund Boner, Bishop of London: by him to be answered by *Yea* or *Nay*, or else to say, *He cannot tell.*"

Of these articles I shall only shew the contents, because they are already in print in the Acts and Monuments.

Gybson's  
articles  
proposed  
to Bonner.  
p. 1839.  
p. 410.

"I. Whether the scriptures are available doctrine

1557. to make men learned unto salvation, without the help of any other doctrine?

“ II. What is authority, and from whence it comes, to whom it pertaineth, and to what end it tendeth?

“ III. Whether the word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of whatsoever calling, their lawful duty in their office? And, whether every man is bound, upon pain of eternal damnation, to do as they are hereby taught and commanded?

“ IV. Whether any man, the Lord Jesus except, is, or shall be, lord over faith? And by what authority any man may use lordship or power over any man for faith's sake?

“ V. By what lawful authority any man may be so bold as to change the ordinances of God, or any of them?

“ VI. By what evident token antichrist, in his ministers, may be known? seeing it is written, ‘ Satan shall change himself into an angel of light, ‘ and his ministers fashion themselves as though they ‘ were the ministers of God?’

“ VII. What the beast is, that maketh war with the saints of God, and doth not only kill them, but will not suffer any to buy or sell, but such as worship the image? Also, what the gorgeous and glittering whore is, that sitteth upon the beast with a cup of gold in her hand full of abomination? With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and she herself drunken with the blood of the saints?

“ VIII. Whether a king over all those people that are born within his own dominions, is lawful, supreme and governour here upon earth? And whether a king over all those people lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to do, nor suffer otherwise to be done, than in his own name and power, to govern and rule without exception? And whether a king, without offence against God and his people, may give away, and not himself use, that authority and power given him of God? And whether any subject, without of-

fence to God and the king, may do ought to his  
minishing, or derogation of the supreme prerogative  
royal? 1557.

“IX. Whether the holy written law of God be  
given of God to all men of whatsoever dignity, state  
or calling, as well thereby to govern all their do-  
minions and their people therein inhabiting, as them-  
selves? Or whether any law or laws, not being made  
within a dominion, whereas it or they be used, may  
be lawfully used, before they be by publick and com-  
mon consent of the same dominion or country al-  
lowed? These were bones for the bishop to pick.”

The second paper sent by Gybson to Bishop  
Bonner, and is extant only in Fox's first edition,  
began thus; with the name of God, and a verse out  
of the Psalms: Gybson's  
second  
paper to  
Bonner.

## EMANUEL.

p. 411.

“Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe  
unto the Lord worship and strength. Give the  
Lord the honour of his name, and bow yourselves to  
the holy majesty of the Lord.

“What manner of Man a bishop ought to be, and  
the duty of him in his office, as the holy scriptures  
of God most truly do teach.

“IN general, a bishop, as the steward of God,  
must be blameless, the husband of one wife, and one  
that ruleth well his own house, and that hath faithful  
children in subjection with all reverence. And one  
that is diligent, prudent, sober, discreet, righteous,  
godly, temperate, a keeper of hospitality, not stub-  
born, not angry, not given to overmuch wine, no  
fighter, &c. What a  
bishop  
ought to  
be.  
1 Tim. 3. a.  
Tit. 1. b.

“In particular, I. He may not be a lord over the  
faithful, of them that are committed unto his charge;  
neither may he use any lordship over them for the  
same; but must become as one of them, that through  
his humbleness, he may win the more to well-doing. 2 Cor. 1. e.  
1 Pet. 5. a.

1557.  
Rom.15. d. “ II. Neither may he be so bold as to speak any other thing, to make any man obedient to the same, than he himself hath learned of Christ.
- 1 Cor. 7. f. “ III. Neither may he do or teach any thing to tangle or snare any man withal.
- 2Cor.13. e.  
2 Cor. 4. a. “ IV. He may not walk in craftiness, neither use the cloke of dishonesty, neither handle the word of God deceitfully, neither chop nor change with the same, &c.
- Rom.14. a.  
Rom.15. a.  
Gal. 6. a. “ V. He may not reject the weak in faith, in disputing and troubling their conscience, but must bear their frailty; and in the spirit of meekness, must be ready to help him that is overtaken with any fault, &c.
- 1 Cor. 9. e.  
1 Tim.3. b.  
1 Cor. 5. b.  
2Thes.3. b.  
2Cor. 5. b.  
2Cor.10. c.  
1Cor.13. c. “ VI. He not only lawfully may, but also ought, by virtue of his office, to preach the word sincerely, to minister, so as no man may be able to reprove him, and to expel, put out, or to excommunicate from among the remnants of his charge, all open, wilful malefactors: and yet to fare fair with all men, and not to be rigorous; because his office is given him to edify, and not to destroy.
- Act. 6. a. “ VII. And he not only lawfully may, but also ought, by the virtue of his office, of virtuous able men, well known, and of honest report within his charge, to appoint sufficient number, to help him in discharge thereof.
- John 4. e.  
Gal. 1. c.  
2Tim. 4. c. “ VIII. And he in no case, by violence, may compel any man to be of his church or fellowship, or to be partaker of any thing that is done therein.
- 2Thes.3. e.  
1Tim. 5. d.  
Rom.15. f.  
p. 412. “ IX. And for his due administration, as one worthy of double honour, he may not only receive of his charge what is necessary, but also ought of them, as of duty, without requests, if need require, to be provided of the same.”

And then he concludes, “ If the bishop of London be such a manner of man, as these scriptures do teach, and hath done, and daily doth his duty therein, as he is taught by the same, as of duty he ought to do; then doubtless, as he is a meet and worthy



man for his office, so am I worthy of the punishment I have; yea, if it were more. But if it be otherwise, as wherein for the tender mercy of Christ Jesu, I most humbly require righteous judgment; then, as I have unworthily sustained long punishment, so is he not only most unworthy of his office, but also hath most worthily deserved to be recompenced blood for blood, as equity requireth. 1557.

“ I will hearken what the Lord God will say; Psal. 84.  
for he shall speak peace unto his people, that they  
turn not themselves unto foolishness.

This 6 of  
April. 1557.”

By me, *Richard Gybson.*

This whole summer he continued in prison, and in November his business came on again: for the bishop, teased with him and his writings, sent for him, intending to make a speedy end with him. He offered an oath to him, to swear to such interrogatories as should be put to him; which he would not take, saying stoutly, the bishop was not his ordinary, and had therefore nothing to do with him. But Bonner procured several persons, upon oath, to give in their testimonies concerning him, such as belonged to the Compter, where Gibson lay: some of which said, they never knew otherwise than well by him both in word and deed; but some of them said, that he had not, in two years, been confest to a priest, nor in that space had received the sacrament. Which, when it was objected to him, he freely acknowledged it to be true, and gave God thanks that he had so done. He was sundry times brought into examinations: once, John Bishop of Winton present, said, “ It was no pity to burn an heretic;” to which Gibson replied, “ That it was not requisite nor lawful to burn men as heretics.” The said bishop told him, “ He would not talk with him, because he was an heretic and excommunicate.” Gibson told him again, undauntedly, “ Yours and other bishops’ curses be blessings to me.” At another examination, much conference

Gibson's  
last ex-  
aminations.

1557. happened betwixt him and Dr. Darbishire, the Bishop of London's chancellor. Another time he appeared at Justice Hall, before the bishop and divers justices, as though he were some criminal in law. And last of all at the Consistory, where Bishop Bonner, having read the sentence against him, admonished him to remember himself and save his soul. But Gibson called this talk of the bishop *babbling*, and desired to hear no more of it; and then protested, that he was contrary, and an enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, though he had aforetime kept it secret for fear of the law. And added, "Blessed am I, that am cursed at your hands. We have nothing now for law, but *thus will I*; for as the bishop saith, so must it be." He valiantly underwent the cruel death of burning, in the month of November, with two more, in Smithfield, named Hallingdale and Sparrow.

Is burnt.  
p. 413.

His character.

By all the foregoing relations we may note the boldness and great abilities of this man; for as he was a personable, stout, and comely man of body, so he was of vigour and activity of mind too.

This and many other excellent men did the Bishop of London bring to their ends.

### CHAP. LIII.

The persecution hot still. Ralph Allerton, martyr. Dr. Weston, Dean of Windsor, under displeasure.

THE persecution increaseth; FOR the heat of the persecution abated not at all (as was hoped) by the death of Bishop Gardiner, that implacable, bloody-minded man; but it rather increased, that bloody butcher, Bonner, being left behind him, and bloody counsels generally over-ruling now at the council-board. For, this year, they were burnt together in one fire, in good round numbers: as, six at Canterbury; after that, five at Smithfield; then seven at Maidstone; seven more at Canterbury; then ten at Lewes; ten more at Colchester. But

notwithstanding all this rage and madness exercised towards the professors, their numbers seemed not to lessen, but to increase the more; and at the latter end of this year they did, more boldly than before, exercise their religion, and make an open profession of it, particularly in the parish of Much Bently, in Essex, where Bonner was patron, one Thomas Ty, the priest and commissary, writ the bishop word, "That they were never so bold since the king and queen's reign. That they did not only absent themselves from the church, but did daily allure many others away from the same, which before did shew signs and tokens of obedience. That they assembled upon the Lord's Days, in time of service, sometimes in one house, and sometimes in another, and there kept their schools of heresy, as he wrote. Nor did the officers care to do what was enjoined them for discovery. The jurats said, *The commission was out, and that they were discharged of their oaths.* That the quest-men in the archdeacon's visitation alledged, That forasmuch as the two-and-twenty had been once presented and sent home, they had no more to do with them." These two-and-twenty were sent up to Bonner from Colchester side, upon the charge of heresy laid against them by the commissioners; but, upon a slight submission, by means, as is said, of Cardinal Pole, dismissed and sent home again: but herein the council, now in a good mood, had the chief hand; for one Boswel, secretary to Bishop Bonner, said, *The council sent them not home without good consideration.*

Ty wrote also, "That at Colchester (where but a little before ten had been burnt) the *rebels*, as he called them, were stout. That the parish priests were hemmed at in the open streets, and called *knaves*; the sacrament blasphemed and reviled at in every house and tavern; prayer and fasting not regarded; seditious talk and noise was rife both in town and country, in as ample and large manner, as though there had been no honourable lords and com-

1557.  
And so do  
the profes-  
sors, espe-  
cially in  
Essex.

Colchester,  
how affect-  
ed.

p. 414.

1557. missionaries sent for the reformation thereof." This information was writ December 18. This letter provoked much, and set the blood-hounds upon a new scent and search after good men and women; and ended in the burning of nine more in one day at Colchester.

Ralph Allerton,  
martyr.

And which was to be remarked, the friends and relations of these Essex-men imprisoned, instead of exhorting them to comply, subscribe, and recant, and so save their own lives, and restore themselves to to their liberty, wives, and children, did, on the contrary, earnestly persuade them to hold out, and that even to death. A letter of this nature I find written to one Ralph, whom I conclude to be Ralph Allerton, that suffered martyrdom, with three Essexians more, at Islington this year, and lived at Bentley aforesaid, on Colchester side. He was a tailor by trade, as I conjecture by Bonner's often calling him *pricklouse*, according to his rude way of misnaming such as came before him; but having good learning, did use to read the English Testament, and other good books, and to pray with the well-disposed professors, meeting together in houses and woods, and sometimes in churches too. Which Allerton continued to do, till he was taken by the Lord Darcy, in the year 1556, and brought up to the council, who sent him to Bishop Bonner; when, out of fear, he subscribed, and made a recantation at Paul's Cross: but was exceedingly afflicted in his mind in what he had done; and soon recovered, and went on in the same course he had done before, but with more zeal and constancy; insomuch that almost all the inhabitants of those parts became professors. He, being taken again in the beginning of this year by the information of Ty, and some other sworn men, boldly stood to the confession of the truth; and being in prison, he writ his examinations, with some letters, with his own blood instead of ink, which are preserved in Fox. During this last imprisonment, a spiritual brother named Foster, and a spiritual sister named Tyins (the wife



of the one, and the husband of the other, dying in the flames) wrote him the letter aforesaid, for his confirmation, and it had its effect; for he made a good confession and a resolute end. This letter, among other such like monuments, I have preserved in the Catalogue.

1557.

No. LXIX.

Several other pious men in the said county of Essex, that preached and exhorted, and travelled about for the benefit and edification of the professors of the gospel in those parts, whom Ty also discovered to the bishop, were these: Mr. Laurence, of Barnhall; John Barry, his servant; John Jeffrey, Robert Coles, and John Ledley. These two last named were great concealers and harbourers of good men, and resorted to the King's Bench, to the prisoners there, about matters of religion; and they went over sea to some of the protestants in exile, to carry intelligence of the state of religion at home, and to propound certain questions concerning religion, and to know their advice and judgment. There were also these: William Punt, who wrote books concerning some pious confessors and martyrs in these days, their doings, sayings, and sufferings, and caused them to be printed abroad, and brought over hither; and among the rest, a book against the errors of Anabaptists: John Kemp, a great traveller into Kent for furthering religion: William Pulleyn, alias Smith, William (a Scot); these two travelled over to the Dutchess of Suffolk, having been her chaplains: Henry Hart; he was the principal of the *free-will* men—so they were termed by the predestinators. This man drew up thirteen articles to be observed among his company, and there came none into their brotherhood, except they were sworn.

Several detected in Essex.

p. 413.

Besides this Ty, the priest aforenamed, there was also, among others, one Denys Benfield, of this county, a busy informer against the gossellers. Of this man I find this memorial written by John Fox, on the backside of one of his letters: "Denys Ben-

Benfield, an informer.

1556. field, stricken black on one side, and speechless."—  
This for Essex.

Professors  
in London.

And in London, notwithstanding all the burning in Smithfield during the three years last past, yet great were the numbers there that professed the gospel, increasing considerably, as it seemed, or at least shewing themselves more boldly, towards the latter end of the queen's reign. A long catalogue of their names, procured by Bonner's spies, his chancellor Darbishire had gotten, and read them to one Lyving, a priest and prisoner for the gospel; for this end and purpose, to make him acknowledge how many of them he knew, that he might accuse and bring others into a snare. In the said city they met frequently this year, and the following, in great numbers. And it was one of the articles put to Sympson, once a tailor, now deacon of a congregation, and a martyr, "That he and others had been at assemblies and conventicles, where there were considerable numbers of people gathered together to hear the English service set forth in King Edward's reign, and to hear God's word, and to have the communion ministred."

Dr. Weston, Dean of Windsor, under displeasure.  
Cooper's Chron.

But to turn to some other matters. Westminster church being last year turned into a monastery, consisting of an abbot and monks, when Dr. Weston, the dean, was required to resign up the church for that use, and he to be removed to the deanery of Windsor, he refused so to do; but being hereby under the displeasure of the cardinal and the bishops, at last he did it unwillingly, moved thereunto by importunate suit. He was a man, that though he maintained the church of Rome, yet he was no friend to monks and religious men. About this time, at Windsor, he was taken in adultery; for which, the cardinal deprived him of all his spiritual preferments. But he appealed to Rome, as dealt unjustly with, and would have fled out of the realm, but was taken in the way, and cast into the Tower of London; and there remained till Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed;

when he was delivered ; but soon after fell sick and died. It was the general opinion, that if he had lived, he would, out of his anger towards the bishops and clergy of Queen Mary, have revealed a purpose of theirs, which was to have digged up the body of King Henry at Windsor, and burned it for an heretick. 1557.

To speak the truth of him, he cannot be represented well to posterity ; he was a mercenary man. Being a man of boldness and of some learning, much use was made of him in the beginning of the queen's reign. He was appointed prolocutor in the first convocation : he was the chief commissioner sent down to Oxford, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were to be baited ; and there he domineered, and in the end cried *Victory*. As soon as that job was done, away he comes to London, and was at the execution of Wyatt ; who, when he, upon the scaffold, had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney from having any hand in his business (though before the council, upon hope of his pardon, he had charged them to have been privy to it), Weston stood up, and cried to the people, not to believe him, and that he had confessed otherwise before the council. This officious man had been, a month or two before, upon the scaffold with the Duke of Suffolk, being appointed, as he pretended, by the queen, to be ghostly father to him, though the duke thrust him down once or twice, as he was going up the stairs of the scaffold along with him ; and when the duke had prayed all men to forgive him, as he said the queen had, Weston cried with a loud voice to the people, That her majesty had forgiven him. Whereupon several of the standers-by said, *Such forgiveness God send thee*. His character. p. 416.

1557.

## CHAP. LIV.

Apprehensions of Spain. Stafford's rebellion. Matters in the North.

E. of Pembroke's commission.

THE Earl of Pembroke had like commission granted him now, as he had the last year, which was, to be Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Queen's Army beyond Sea, for the defence of Calais.

The fears of the Spaniards.

The government, by this time, became very uneasy, not only in respect of the bloodshed for religion, and the rigorous inquisitions made every where, but for the domineering of the Spaniards, which was intolerable. The English were very much disregarded, and the Spaniards ruled all; the queen, half Spanish by birth, and still more so by marriage, shewing them all favour; hating the English and enriching the Spaniard, and sending over her treasures to Spaniards. King Philip also had required twelve of the strongest castles here in England, which were to be put into the hands of twelve thousand of the Spanish soldiers, to be sent over against the time of his coronation, as was found by certain letters taken with Spaniards at Diep. This raised a great apprehension in the nation, that he intended to get this realm to himself by a conquest, and to reduce it under a tyranny. That nation also had carried themselves here very disobligingly to the English, and would say, that they would rather dwell among Moors and Turks than with Englishmen, who sometimes would not bear their insolencies and oppressions without resistance.

A rebellion in the North.

This, together with a hope of restoring himself to the Dukedom of Buckingham, made Thomas Stafford, of that blood, in April, arrive in England out of France with forces, and possess himself of Scarborough Castle; giving out himself to be governor and protector of the realms, intending to depose Queen Mary, whom he called *The unrightful and unworthy Queen*



*of England*, as forfeiting her crown by marriage with a stranger, and for favouring and maintaining Spaniards, and putting castles into their hands, to the destruction of the English nation. Stafford, with his party (who were the remainders of those who made the insurrection the last year), put forth his proclamation. But the king and queen, being greatly surprised herewith, April 30, sent out a proclamation against him and the other traitors with him; and they were soon quelled by the Earl of Westmoreland, and others, in those parts. Stafford, and four more, were taken in Scarborough Castle, April 28, and brought up to the Tower; and twenty-seven more that assisted in that exploit, were prisoners in York. May 28, Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill; and the next day three of the accomplices were executed at Tyburn, viz. Stretchley, alias Strelly, alias Stowel, Proctor, and Bradford: that Bradford, I suppose, who wrote a large and notable letter, mentioned before, against the Spaniards. The proclamation against Stafford, together with Stafford's declaration, and the names of the prisoners, may be found in the Catalogue.

1557.

No LXX.  
LXXI.  
LXXII.

Those that were in Stafford's treason were, according to letters from the king and queen to the council in the North, indicted of their treasonable fact, and condemned there at York at a session of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, that began May 17; and the council appointed their execution in such convenient and requisite places, as well along the sea-coast as otherwise, as the lord president was commanded by those letters. A schedule whereof he sent to the lords of the council, shewing the places where they had appointed execution to be done, and the disposition of the twenty-seven persons to die the death of traitors at those places, being all in Yorkshire, viz.

Orders  
sent into  
the North  
about the  
traitors.

At York, John Wilborne, Clement Tyllied, John Cawsewel alias Creswel, and Robert Hunter.

Executions  
of twenty-  
seven in  
Yorkshire.

At Scarborough, Tho. Spencer, John Adams, John Watson (a Scot), John Lewis.

1557.

At Hull, John Brown, Owen Jones.

At Beverly, Hary Gardiner, John Thomas.

At Whitby, Thomas Warren, or Warden, and John Donning, Scot.

At Maldon, William Palmer, John Montfurth, Scot.

At Flamborow, Syley, Thomas Wilkinson.

At Byrlyngton, John Wallys.

At Audborow, Anthony Perrival.

At Hornesey, William Williamson.

At Paul in Holderness, Roger Thomas.

At Hassyl, Roger Reynolds.

At Hallyfax, Lawrence Alsop.

At Doncaster, Thomas Jordan.

At Howden, John Grey, Scot.

At Wakefield, Robert Hawgate, Scot.

All these executed for entering into Scarborough Castle.

Stafford  
and some  
others sent  
up.

p. 413.

The chief of these traitors, who were Stafford, John Proctor, alias Williamson, Stowel, Saunders, and Grissel, a Frenchman, were sent up by the lord president according to the king and queen's commandment, together with their several indictments, and the examinations also of such of the traitors as seemed material for any of them that were already sent up.

They will  
not confess  
any foreign  
aid.

The privy council had sent the council in the North instructions, when they, which they appointed to be arraigned there, were tried, that they should diligently examine them, what foreign or English aids or succours were to have assisted, or joined with them. But none such they would acknowledge, or be known of; but said, "That if any such were, Stafford, and the rest carried up to London, each knew thereof. In fine, here was a round execution: for of thirty-five persons concerned in this plot, but two obtained pardon, viz. Saunders and a Frenchman; all the rest died the death of traitors.

Things  
look  
gloomy in  
the North.

Things now looked very gloomy upon England, and especially in the North parts, where this plot

was executed, and where continual disturbances were, partly between Scots and English, and partly between English and English: so that in all haste, musters were commanded there to be taken, and soldiers to be raised. 1537.

For (to come to particulars) there were terrible feuds between family and family in the parts bordering upon Scotland: insomuch that people went abroad in danger of their lives, and were fain to go armed, and in considerable parties together. Such feuds were between the Carrs of the Scotch race and the Herons, and other English. And when these parties met, they fought sometimes most desperately together. So it happened in the beginning of April at Ford; where, upon an affray, Robert Barrow, Mayor of Berwick, and Giles Heron, treasurer of Berwick, were cruelly slain. The mayor had such mortal wounds that he never spake more. The treasurer had fifteen bloody wounds given him. Some of the offenders were in Scotland, at one Robert Carr's house, Lord of Graydon; and had with them the treasurer's head and his dagger; which occasioned, that at the sessions in April at Morpeth, before the adjournment of the same, came in presence, Sir John Forster, Knt. George Heron of Chipches, and Nicolas Darmington of Wharnely, Esquires, with a band of men to the number of two hundred and fifty, in forcible and war-like array of armour and weapon, contrary to the provision and order of sundry statutes and antient laws of the realm against such behaviour, expressly provided and established. In excuse whercof, the said gentlemen openly acknowledged their said apparel and armour was not to offend the laws, and that, the same notwithstanding, they durst not otherwise come to the said sessions, for fear of bodily hurt and danger of such enemies, as they alledged it was not unknown they had. Thus the justices of the peace certified to the lord warden, Sir Robert Ellerker, high sheriff, and some others: signifying withal, that they had sus-

Feuds in  
the North.

1557. pended the consideration of that matter till the time of the said sessions appointed at Newcastle; and had made proclamation, that all obedient subjects should forbear the like misbehaviour; and from thenceforth, in that point, observe the laws and statutes according to their duties. But the parties whom these gentlemen took to be their enemies (as the Carrs) or any for them, were not then seen nor heard of.

Their malice.

p. 419.

Another way these feud-men shewed their malice to one another, which, though not so mortal, yet vexatious enough; when by interest with some of the council in York, and by false surmises, they would procure them to be sent for up thither; a great journey from their dwellings, to put them to expence and trouble, and perhaps to do them, or theirs, mischief in their absence from home. This, the Lord Dacre, warden of the West Marches, advised the lord president of that council of, in July the last year, and told him, how that there were divers in that county of Cumberland, that procured letters missive against their neighbours for displeasure and malice, rather than for any just cause. And prayed him for the ease of poor men, that they might be discharged of the same: wherein he also offered himself to see them ordered, as to justice appertained.

Matters in ill terms between England and Scotland.

The Scots also and English stood but in doubtful state at this time to each other: and to make themselves look the more formidable to the English, they extolled much the French king's power and forces abroad in Picardy with himself; and with the Duke of Guise in Piedmont; and his aiding the pope in Naples; and that the Great Turk had mighty armies ready: all which the Scots spake for the French king's glory. But in truth, notwithstanding these boasts, the French king had received now a great discomfit in Italy, as it was written to the Lord Wharton out of Scotland; wherein the Duke of Nemours, a young man, but as towardly as was in all France, was slain, with four-and-twenty gentle-



men and nobles of France; and 4000 horse and foot according to some, 5000 according to others, destroyed. The Scotch queen mourned, and made a dole. The voice went, it was for the Cardinal of Bourbon lately deceased, who was nigh a kin to her. But, it was thought, that she rather mourned for the death of the noblemen, and the great overthrow of the French part. The Duke of Ferrara was the lieutenant-general of the French king's army in Italy, and the Duke of Guise lieutenant in the other's absence. The Duke of Nemours was the chief captain of the horsemen. Monsieur Dose, the French ambassador at the Scotch court, told Dr. Hussey, the English messenger there, that this duke was only wounded; that the Duke of Alva waxed strong in the field; that the Duke of Guise arrived in Rome in peace, and that he was there received of the pope with great gladness; that the Duke of Ferrara led the army, and marched towards the enemy. And this was the present state of the French, upon whom the Scots so much leaned. 1557.

Dr. Laurence Hussey, by the queen's command, was now in Scotland; who rode from Edinburgh to Sterling, April 5, in the Lady Lenox's causes. The said Dr. (April 12) wrote to the Lord Wharton, (whose agent he was) that the dowager complained much of the rebels; that there was no redress made on the Lord Dacre's side. To which Hussey was instructed what to say, from a memorial given him by the said Lord Wharton; but of him she complained not at all. And Sir Robert Carnegie carried with him all that was past between the commissioners, to declare to the queen's majesty, that of the Scots part all justice had been done. And they looked for war or peace, as the king and queen should order matters with him. The Scots now sent out seven ships upon some exploit, which came to Holy Island: three whereof were reported to be scattered from the rest; but they were returned again for Scotland for

Dr. Hussey  
at the  
Scotch  
court.

Carnegie  
at the  
English.

Seven  
ships sent  
out by the  
Scots.  
p. 420.

1556. new victuals; and the French had lately sent considerable forces into Scotland.

The king  
and queen  
raise men  
in the  
North.

The king and queen, in this meantime, were busy in raising soldiers, to be ready to oppose Scotland. Sir George Bows, son of Sir Robert Bows, was ordered, in April, to muster and prepare all his servants, tenants and others under his rule and office, and all others as should be willing to go with him; which, accordingly as he wrote the lord president word, he had mustered together, with his friends; who all would be ready at the said president's commandment willingly, to serve the king and queen to the uttermost of their powers. He sent him also the book of the said musters, that he might understand the number and sort of his men, to dispose of them as he should think fit for the advancement of the king and queen's service. To the lord president, who was lord lieutenant of Derbyshire, letters came in May, with order for an hundred men to be levied and taken in that county, furnished with weapon and harness, to serve with captains, such as were gentlemen, inheritors, or heirs apparent, to have the conduct of the same: and the same to be led towards the borders against Scotland. And the same number of men was ordered to be raised in Nottinghamshire.

A difference  
between the  
Ld. Wharton  
and the gentle-  
men of  
Northum-  
berland.

Great disturbances, continually almost, arose in the parts of England near Scotland, being a kind of boisterous, head-strong, unquiet people. The gentlemen of Northumberland, and the Lord Wharton, the captain of Berwick, had now in May a falling out, about musters, as it seems, very unseasonably, considering the present apprehensions from the neighbouring nation. The king and queen therefore, knowing of what bad consequence these quarrels among Englishmen in the very confines might be, sent a commission to the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Bishop of Durham, in time, to make up this difference. Both which, for the appeasing of these

matters, and other disorders also, repaired to Newcastle. And the king and queen desiring to know what was done by their commissioners, in this necessary work, sent to the lord president to understand of their doings, which caused him to send to them for their advertisements in this affair. And the king and queen having commanded him, in respect of his office as president, and in that he had their commission of lieutenancy, to take a time with his commodity, as his health and strength would serve, to repair to the frontiers (wherein those two lords were appointed to attend for that purpose.) The earl therefore prayed them to signify unto him their opinion, what time they should think most convenient for his repair thither, that he might prepare himself in order thereafter, for the further quiet, and to direct orders to be taken in those matters. 1557.

It was soon after that the diligent earl seems to have travelled from York to Newcastle; where he took order for the sending five hundred men to Berwick, and for the appointing of an army of such able men, as had been, or might be mustered within his commission, according to the king and queen's letters, lately addressed to him for that purpose. This the said earl signified by his letters, dated May 23. The lords of the council, on the 27th day, sent their letters to him, to let him know, that the king and queen took his diligence used in these matters in acceptable part, and willed them to give him their most hearty thanks for the same. And whereas the said earl had let them know, that there were but very few corslets to be gotten in those parts, the council therefore signified to him, that it was their majesties' wish that the greater number, if possible, might be furnished with that kind of armour; yet seeing that could not so suddenly be brought to pass, they would nevertheless, that he should take such order, as at the least wise so many being furnished with corslets as might be, the rest might have some other kind of armour, as they might

The diligence of the lord president.

p. 421.

Well accepted by the king and queen.

The council's orders for corslets.

1557. best encounter with the Frenchmen that were in Scotland, who were not furnished with corslets, as their majesties in a former letter gave his lordship to understand at better length. He had also required

Bows and  
arrows.

furniture of bows and arrows to be sent thither. But this the council thought very strange; for beside the statute made for the maintenance of shooting, which, being put in execution, must have well enough served to meet with this lack, they saw not why that part of the realm should have had more need to be supplied of those things, than their majesties' subjects in other places; who through the realm did of themselves provide for their sufficient furniture of this sort of artillery, according to their duties. And so they doubted not, but he would see that those under his rule should do in time as appertained; whereby they might be the better able to serve their majesties, and defend themselves and their country when need should require. And as touching the supply of such

Ordnance.

ordnance and munition as should be thought convenient to be sent thither, they wrote to him, that they had already considered the matter, and had taken such order with the same master of the ordnance, as the same should be supplied, and sent thither with as good speed as might be. And whereas he men-

Victuals.

tioned the want of victuals in those parts, they doubted not but his lordship could well enough consider, that the same was not fit to be supplied from them, especially seeing their majesties were not certain whether they should have occasion to use their army, that was to be put in readiness there; the same being chiefly prepared to encounter such foreign powers as might happen to invade the realm that way. In which case all good subjects were bound to do what they might for the defence of themselves and their country, to the uttermost of their power, both in providing themselves of victuals, and furniture of other necessities according to their duty. And even so they mistrusted not, but he would cause their majesties' subjects there to see to the supply of this



want when need should require, with as good foresight as might be, without trusting to other provision. 1557.

The lord president put the council also in mind of money for the furniture of the army when need should require. To which they answered, their majesties would cause such order to be taken as the same should be provided, and in a readiness when need was. He desired also that letters might be written unto such persons as were named in a schedule sent unto them in his letter. To which the council answered, their majesties thought the same should not need: for that such as were within his lieutenantancy, he might himself write unto, and command to be in a readiness, according to the order heretofore given him. And as for the rest that were in other shires, the king and queen intended to reserve their service to be employed otherwise, as occasion should require. Lastly, as to the appointing of the meaner officers to serve in the army, their majesties referred the naming of them unto his own discretion; who being lieutenant, and having charge of the whole, might direct these and other like things, as he should by his wisdom think most convenient. This was writ from Westminster, May 27, and signed by

*Nico. Ebor. Canc.*

*Pembroke.*

*Arundel.*

*Thomas Ely,*

*Winchester.*

*Henry Jernegan.*

*Anthony Mountague.*

*Jo. Bourne.*

*Edward Hastings.*

But, notwithstanding these cares and preparations, and the daily expectations of the French and Scots, things were still but in a miserable state, as to military matters, in those parts; Barwick in great need of men; to which therefore five hundred men were appointed to be sent, for defence of the same. But the town also had need of necessaries, for furniture of five hundred men, and five hundred workmen also to be appointed to be there. There was a dearth of

Things at  
Berwick in  
a miserable  
state.

1557. victuals: the old garrison not paid for their half year ended 14th February last, and for this other half year, that would end August the 16th, except money delivered in prest by the late treasurer slain, which would appear upon declaration of his accounts. There was no treasurer known, nor when the soldiers should be paid; and the inhabitants of the town, victuallers, were not able to provide for the soldiers and workmen without ready money. And the victuallers and purveyors complained, for want of a pay, called *Gower's pay*: and thereby they grudged to take men to board upon credit. All which the Lord Wharton, captain of Barwick Castle, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, June the 3d.

The Earl  
of Derby  
to muster  
Cheshire.

Now also the Earl of Derby had letters from the said earl, authorizing him to muster and prepare the inhabitants of the county of Chester to be ready to repair unto the said earl, with his servants and tenants, and such force as he should be able to make, to serve their majesties, in such order and place, as the Earl of Shrewsbury for the time should appoint.

Things  
look more  
towards  
war with  
Scotland.

In the beginning of July, things in Scotland looked all towards war with England (which indeed, very lately, openly proclaimed war with France.) Notwithstanding, in the mean time, commissioners on both sides, had been pretending fairly to accommodate differences and irruptions upon each other. In-somuch that, July the 9th, the Earl of Westmerland, being then at Carlile, one of the commissioners wrote to the lord president in these words: "These may advertise your lordship, that before this day I was never so far past all hope for peace, and lookt so certainly for present war. For the demeanor of Scotland, as well in their preparing for war, as in the heinous attemptates, and grievous injuries committed daily upon the subjects of this realm, and especially upon the East and Middle Marches, since our coming to Carlile, is so apparently repugnant to the talk and communications of the commissioners of the said realm, that I can no other do, but verily be-

The Earl  
of West-  
moreland  
to the Earl  
of Shrews-  
bury.  
Ex Epist.  
Com.Salop  
p. 423.

lieve that they mind no truth, but to delay and trifle the time with us, until they be prepared and ready, if they may, upon a sudden, to work some displeasure unto this realm ; as by such intelligences as we have received this day from the Lord Dacre, and also by the Lord Wharton's letter, with two attemptes committed by the Scots upon the sixth and seventh of this month, ye may more at large understand. I have thought meet to give your lordship knowledge hereof, to the intent ye may make more haste in sending the 600 horsemen, which your lordship is, by the king's and queen's majesties' letters, appointed to send to the borders, for the better furniture of the same. For I would wish we were nothing behind with them, but as ready to withstand their malice, as I believe, for all their fair speech, they are to attempt some enterprize against us." 1537.

Of which also the court was so sensible, that letters came not far from the beginning of July, to the lord president from the king and queen and council, to prepare 600 horsemen and 400 archers, to be in a readiness against the first day of August ; and also to put the whole force of the North Riding of Yorkshire in such perfect readiness, as the same might encounter any mean force of the enemy, that should invade the frontiers with any army.

Yet so cunningly did the Scots' commissioners, even at this time, and in the midst of those injurious acts, carry themselves, that the Earl of Westmerland, however persuaded he was before of the Scots' hostile intentions, yet now, the conference being at an end about the middle of July, he conceived quite other thoughts of them. For so he wrote, in a second letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury: " I trust we shall have no present need thereof (that is of an army to be put in readiness.) For in the end of our conference with the commissioners of Scotland, they seem very desirous of peace, and rather to covet the same than war ; so that I believe we shall part very friendly upon Thursday next. For yesterday (that is

Horse and archers appointed to be ready against a day.

The Scots pretend peace.

1557. July 13th) we agreed upon this good point, that if their instructions and ours, which we look to have from both the princes, as their answers and pleasures to our resolutions agree not, yet we shall depart in peace as we came hither; making proclamation through all the Marches of both realms, for the continuation of the peace for two months; and then to meet again upon the East borders. And in the mean time the princes' pleasure to be known; and the wardens to be charged to take certain care of the great riders of either side, to remain with them, for the better stay and continuance of the peace."

p. 424.

## CHAP. LV.

The queen in distress for money, makes use of a loan. She raises an extraordinary guard. The Scots' assaults. The English worst them.

The queen  
borrows  
money.

**A**MIDST these offensive and defensive wars with France and Scotland, that the queen had pulled upon her head, besides the fears and conspiracies at home, she was pressed with want of money; which forced her, towards the latter end of July, to send her letters throughout the nation for a loan, to enable her to put herself in a posture of defence, and to resist and quell her enemies, whether her disobedient subjects or others. To Sir John Porte, in Derbyshire, she sent command to borrow, of eight gentlemen in that county, an 100*l.* a-piece, to be repaid at the feast of All Saints next ensuing, or one month after; and the said Sir John to pay it into her comptroller, Sir Robert Rochester. These eight gentlemen were, Sir George Vernon, Sir Peter Fretchvyle, Sir William Candysh, Thomas Babyngton, Esq. Sir Henry Sacheveril, Richard Blackwall, Esq. Sir George Pierpont, George Zowch, Esq. To all whom she addressed her privy seals.

To her said receiver for Derbyshire, she wrote her



letter as followeth, whereby may appear the reasons 1557.  
that urged her to this course :

“MARY, THE QUENE.

*“ Trusty and well-beloved, we grete you well,*

“ And wher we be presently occasioned, for the better defence of our realm, and meeting with such practices as have been, and are daily attempted by certain our unnatural subjects, to defray greater sums of money, than we can at this time of ourselves without our great hindrance well furnish ; like as we have for our relief herein appointed to take, by way of loan, the sum of an 100*l.* of each of the persons, whose names be contained in a scedule here enclosed ; and have for that purpose addressed our letters of privy seal unto them ; so for the readiness and goodwill which we have always found in you to serve us, we have appointed you to receive the said mony, and have willed the same persons to pay the same unto your hands, and to take your bill for the receipt thereof ; which, together with our said letters of privy seal, shall be unto them a sufficient warrant for the repayment of the said sum unto them, at such days as we have by our letters foresaid appointed.

The queen  
to Sir J.  
Porte, to  
receive the  
loan in  
Derby-  
shire.  
Epist. Co-  
mit. Salop.

“ We therefore require you to use all the diligence you may in the receipt of the said monies. Which when you shall have gathered together, we require you to cause to be safely conveyed to the hand of our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, Sir Robert Rochester, Kt. comptroler of our houshold ; who shall not only give you allowance of the charges, which you shall have been at for the receipt thereof, but allow you a sufficient acquittance and discharge for the same. Given under our signet, at our manor of Eltham, the last day of July, in the third and fourth year of our reign.”

p. 425.

The foresaid gentlemen, by appointment, met with Sir John Porte, at Derby, except three, viz. Sir

Some re-  
fuse.

1557. George Vernon, Sir William Candysh, and George Zowch. Nor did they come, when they were appointed a second meeting; nor yet did they send: which was a certain sign they had no mind to lend. Whereat Porte sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury for his advice.

Orders for  
the raising  
the bishop-  
rick of  
Durham.

Preparations for defence against Scotland are now more and more hastening. The Lord Wharton, July 26, sent to the Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Westmerland, importing a command given to the lord president, by virtue of which, the said Lord Wharton required to have the power of the bishoprick, with fifteen days victuals, to be placed upon the frontiers, until other powers should be sent. And since this, the said lord president sent to the bishop to put the whole force of the bishoprick in a full and perfect readiness, to repair to the borders for defence and safety thereof, as they should be commanded. Accordingly the bishop caused proclamation to be made, that all men should be in a readiness for defence of the borders, whensoever they should be called, either by burning of beacons, proclamations, or any other ways, whensoever the enemy did invade the realm with a power. And further, he consulted with the chief of the shire, and shewed them both their lordships' letters; who, well knowing the antient customs of the country, answered, "That they were not bound, nor had been accustomed to lie in garrison, tarrying for the enemy's coming, when they should invade; but whensoever the power of the enemy did invade, then, upon warning given thereof, they would be ready in their most defensible array, according to their most bounden duties." The result was, that the bishop certified them, that upon their lordships' advertisement, whensoever any invasion should be made, he would warn all the country to set forwards to the borders with all speed possible. This he writ from Aukland, July the 29th.

This answer gave some disturbance for the present. For though the Earls of Northumberland and West-

merland had sent to the bishop to the same import that the Lord Wharton had done, yet he gave them the same answer, viz. That the country denied to lie in garrison, to tarry the coming of the enemy; but whensoever the enemy did, or should invade, they would, upon warning, be ready to go to repulse him of their own cost; and accordingly the bishop said, he should look for warning to set forward shortly. Of this the Earl of Westmerland, by a letter dated July 31, from his manor of Kirkby Morshed, informed the Earl of Shrewsbury, and inclosed the bishop's letter to the Lord Wharton in his own; certifying the said earl, that, in truth, the inhabitants of the bishoprick were bound to serve for eight days, whether the realm were invaded or not. He wrote also to the bishop, advising him forthwith to see the men of the bishoprick to the borders, according to the warden's commandment, for divers causes. What became of this dispute, so unseasonable at this time, we find hereafter; for the men of the bishoprick came not till the day after the engagement with the Scots, who had invaded.

1557.  
The bishop  
refuses to  
go till an  
actual in-  
vasion.

p. 426.

So that the nation was now all in war; France before, and Scotland behind. That of France the queen had drawn herself into, out of complaisance to her husband; and in July, King Philip, having engaged the realm to break with France, and to assist him in his wars against that crown, away he goes over sea. The queen now takes care for the defence of herself in England, chiefly against the Scots, who being mightily strengthened from France, nothing less was expected, as we heard before, but a powerful invasion on the North. She also provided for her own person an extraordinary guard, and required several gentlemen to attend her with a competent number of men, as though she intended herself to go into the field, or feared her own person. Thus she sent a letter to Sir Edward Dimock, of Lincolnshire, to put himself in order, and to cause his servants, tenants and others under him, to be mustered; and

The queen  
provides  
an extra-  
ordinary  
guard.

1557. to furnish himself with ten horsemen and an hundred foot, well appointed; and with the same numbers to be ready to attend upon her, at one day's warning, at any time after the 25th of August. Which command of the queen may be read in the Catalogue.

No.  
LXXIII.  
The French  
supply the  
Scots.

As the French had assisted the Scots with men, so now, in the beginning of August, they sent them money. For a shalop came into Lyth, from that king, with French testers and other provisions; as the Lord Wharton, by intelligence out of Scotland, had learned. Many of these little vessels, called shalops, were now passing and repassing between France and Scotland, and seemed to be like fishermen; but they carried letters, ordnance, munition, money, and other necessities.

The Scots  
prepare a  
fleet.

The Scots also had a force by sea as well as by land; for they had prepared men of war at Leith, Aberdeen, Dundee, and other places on their coasts. Certain ships also that belonged to one Wallis and one Coppersmith, whether merchants or privateers, were now rigged at Leith, to go forth for the war. They had also taken from the English several prizes; as certain ships belonging to Aberdeen, besides eight ships taken before, had now lately taken five more; one whereof was above two hundred tons, which the queen dowager had sent for, to have her for service.

The enemy  
draws near  
Barwick.

Now, in the beginning of August, the power of the French and Scots, which was considerably great, drew near to Barwick, whose strength was but weak, and unequal to the enemies; which the Lord Wharton, the captain of Barwick, signified to the lord president; and that the inhabitants might not venture to the bounds and confines; which proved very incommodious to them, and would be to the town, without some speedy remedy to repulse their force. The Earl of Huntley came the 1st of August, at night, to Langton, from the dowager at Dunbar; she said she would visit Aymoth again shortly. The Scots daily made incursions, and prepared so to do, to destroy the houses and corn, and thereby the for-



tresses, towers and holds were in danger to be left destitute. And great damage they did, whereby the borders were much wasted. Of which, notwithstanding, the lord president was informed from time to time; but effectual order was not taken from above; and the corn, that was ready to be gotten in, was in great danger to be destroyed. 1557. p. 427.

And, in fine, by all intelligence the English could get, the enemy was about some great enterprize, to be done hastily by the light of the moon that then shone. Wherefore, on the English side the best preparations were made that they could, and Mr. Henry Percy, a brave gentleman, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, repaired towards the borders, and was at Alnwick Castle the last of July, with sundry gentlemen of Northumberland, and many other honest men, who repaired unto him; with whom he continually, for four or five days, travelled, to put all things into a good posture for defence, in such sort, as they took but very little rest by day or night. On the fifth of August, by five in the morning, the Scots, with all their forces, invaded England on the East Marches: there were among them the Lord James and the Lord Robert, two of the late Scotch king's bastard sons, together with the Lord Hume, and many other of their nobility, and all the power they could make, minding to have taken the castle of Ford, and burned the ten towns of Glendale. But, upon the opposition they met with from the English, who bravely acquitted themselves, they gave way, and some of them were slain, and among the rest Davison, one of their best borderers. Mr. Henry Percy took this opportunity to invade their country, where he burnt sixteen towns, and carried off 280 neat, and a thousand sheep, and some prisoners. The next day, viz. August 6, came 600 bishoprick men towards Barwick, to be placed according as the Lord Wharton, captain there, should appoint. But Sir Henry Percy's letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and that of the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Whar-

They invade, but are repulsed.

1557. ton, Sir James Crofts, and Sir John Clere to the same, both dated the day after the fight, will represent this occurrence more fully, which will be found in the Catalogue.

No.  
LXXIV.  
LXXV.

Another  
invasion  
by the  
Scots.

The danger  
of Bar-  
wick,

p. 428.

The Scots came down again upon the English confines, August 13, with better success. For the Lord Lieutenant of Scotland, with other persons of great quality, as the Earl Huntley, the Earl of Sotherland, the Lord James, the Lord John, the Lord Arskin, the Lord Somerville, Lord Fleming, Lord Hume, and Monsieur Dosy, the French ambassador, entered into England near to Barwick; where were arrived but the night before the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Wharton, with certain of the horsemen and foot appointed by the privy council to have been under the leading of the said Sir Thomas, and considering they were coming to Barwick, and the danger that the country was in to be spoiled, they sent forth Mr. Henry Percy, and other gentlemen, and certain of the horsemen, to let their enterprize so much as might be. But the enemy being very strong, took such advantage, as the English lost about an hundred horsemen, and took about twenty Scots. Such were the chances of war. The Lieutenant of Scotland continued, after this success, to lie upon the borders, within six miles of Barwick, and the Frenchmen within four miles, with great powers. Of this the Earl of Northumberland, warden of the East and Middle Marches; Lord Wharton, captain of the town and castle of Barwick; Sir Tho. Wharton and Sir James Croft, certified the lord president by letter, shewing him how it might hence appear in what danger that town and country stood; which, that he might be informed of, Sir James Croft was presently dispatched thence to him; and by him, together with the said Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Wharton, was the said Sir James, in this juncture, sent up to the queen, for to be directed in several matters in this present emergence.

And, on the 20th of August, the queen gave a me-

memorial, or note of answer, to those things that were propounded to her council by instructions to him given by the said noblemen. Which instructions were to this import: what the queen and council directed, should be done for the preventing this present intended invasion: and if such invasion were made, what course should then be taken.

1537.  
Croft sent  
to court for  
directions.

Also, what to do for securing the cattle and the corn from the invaders. Likewise, what to do with men raised in the neighbouring counties. Also, that in case of an army to be raised to go against the Scots, what was to be done for victuals. About the Northumberland men to be placed in garrison; which they advised. About the officers' wages. How far the lord lieutenant's power should extend. Concerning the payment of the East and Middle Marches. Concerning the first, it was ordered that a strong garrison should be placed upon the borders, to prevent the invasion, if it could be; but, in case of invasion, the said garrison to impeach their marching, and other attemptates. For the second, that the people should send their cattle out of the way, and put their corn in places of safety. For the third, that the Earl of Darby and others should see their men ready to march upon call. For the fourth, that every parish should be induced to send victuals for their own men. Concerning the fifth, that order should be given, that those Northumberland men should be in the garrison on horseback, and to be in such places and numbers, and others to be discharged for these to be put in their rooms, according to the discretion of the lord lieutenant and Earl of Northumberland, and such like. Which may be seen at large in the said memorial; to which the queen's name is set both at the top and bottom.

No.  
LXXVI.

By letters of the latter end of July and beginning of August, the council informed King Philip of the treachery of the Scots, that had brought a great army upon the English, even while they were treating about peace; and what preparations the English had

Letters to  
the king to  
break with  
the Scots.



1557. made by sea as well as land against them : praying the king, that seeing this was their condition, in respect of Scotland, he would enter hostility with that kingdom, and deal with them and their ships as enemies, whensoever they should come to Spain or the Low Countries. To which the king, in a letter dated the beginning of August, gave this answer : “ That he understood all things which the Scots had done *suâ naturali perfidiâ*, by a perfidiousness natural to them, while they were treating of keeping peace and friendship, and how they had decreed open war against England. He had also seen, by the English letters sent to him, what provisions they had made upon the matter, viz. Of sending nine of the queen’s ships coming home from Iseland upon the Scotch coast, and the rest with the navy on the west parts. Which resolution, as very prudent, and done with so mature counsel, was extraordinarily approved by him. That he, from that day, should repute the Scots enemies for the same cause as the English did, and would have them handled as such. That he had commanded it to be writ into Spain, that from henceforth they should be damaged, and their ships and others belonging to them. But because there were certain treaties, conventions and pacts, between the states of the Low Countries and the Scots, it was not yet decreed after what manner it should be done there. For those treaties were first to be examined, that a form might be found, to be observed in the declaration and denunciation of war against them. And that this was now in doing by his (the king’s) commandment with the greatest diligence. And that an ambassador should be sent to the Scots for this very thing, who in the king’s name, and the states, should dispatch what was to be done. The king added, That it was there held for certain, that this Scotch war with England, was promulged against the will of all the governors and natural people of that realm ; and that therefore what the Scots should determine and answer to his ambassador,

p. 429.



he would presently signify to them (the queen's council.) And that if they should not keep themselves in their duty, and within their own bounds, and forthwith desist from the war so unjustly waged against the English, all care should be taken, that on that side open war should be made upon them, and to do them all the damage that might be. And, in short, that nothing should be omitted by him, which he should understand to be for the profit, conservation and utility of this kingdom. Concluding, 'Cum res omnes illius (regni) (et vestrũ omnium fides et amor promeretur) charas admodum habemus. Dat. in civitate nostra Cameracensi, VII. mens. August. MDLVII.' Subscribed,

1557.

PHILIPPUS."

As the queen had made the best preparations she could on the sudden by land, so in the beginning of this month of August, she set forth a fleet against her Scotch enemies, to annoy them. On the 6th day Sir John Clere, her vice-admiral, arrived at Barwick, where he and others concerned, consulted together about the marine affairs. The result was, that the ships should make a show in the Frith, to give terror to such pirates as lay there. And thence to set course to Bahomines, and to waste the Iseland-fleet. And therewith they considered, that the same wind as should lead the pirates out of the Frith, would serve also to lead the queen's ships to the coast of England. But neither was the queen successful in this fleet. Sir John Clere, the vice-admiral, was in the ship called the New Bark. There were seven of the queen's ships, beside the Mynion; three ships of the town of Newcastle, and one Oswald Fenwick, of Newcastle, brought a ship of his own adventure. In all twelve. With this navy the vice-admiral entered an island called Kirkway in Orkney, upon Wednesday, Aug. 11, and burnt part of the town of Kirkway; and so he and his company went safe back to their ships. And upon Thursday the next morrow landed

The queen  
sets forth a  
fleet.

1557. again, and burnt the other part of the town ; entered the church, and battered the castle with five or six pieces of ordnance ; but they could not prevail against it, and so returned to the ships safely. Upon Friday the 13th, they entered again where they were before, intending to have taken the bishop's house : they had six pieces of ordnance on land with them for that purpose. But the Scots now being 3000 men, as they esteemed them, put the English to flight ; where Sir John Clere was drowned, and divers captains and soldiers were slain and drowned, to the number of ninety-seven, four pieces of ordnance, called sacres, were lost. The ships, and all others in them being safe, sailed away southwards. Three captains were slain, namely, the captains of the New Bark, the Henry, and the Bull ; the captain of the Solomon drowned. The captains of the Tiger, of the Willoughby, of the Greyhound, and the Gabriel saved. These tidings were sent to the court, August 22, by John Southern, captain of the Gabriel.

Unsuccessful.

## CHAP. LVI.

The Scots pursue their designs of invasion. The preparation of the English. The Scots retreat without action. The English burn and plunder.

The Scots resolve upon an invasion.

**T**HE Scots still pursue their purpose of invasion. And in the very beginning of the month of September, their army, consisting of the greatest force they could make, was moving apace toward England : and order was given by proclamation and otherwise, that all the subjects dwelling by North Sowtray, should march on foot, unless he were a nobleman, knight, manner (*i. e.* owner) of good lands, or captain, who might ride, and none others : and all from Sowtray southwards, with their west borderers, to be their band of horsemen. They had 3000 harquebutters (as the espials sent word) made forth of the charges of the

borough towns in Scotland. At this time they had a consultation at Edinburgh, where were present, the dowager, the duke, the Earl of Huntley, and their nobility. It was there reasoned, that it would be a great matter for their whole realm, if the army of England should give them battle; the experience whereof they had felt before. The dowager answered, "That there was much spoken of an army to rise in England, but upon her creditable intelligence, she would assure them all, that there was no army towards: and if there were, the same was of no great force; so as they might do their purpose without danger of England." The same day this consultation was held, at night the duke said to some, that the dowager and Monsieur Docel, the French ambassador, were fully determined to assail Barwick, and that he was never otherwise moved by the dowager and Docel, but to assay that piece. The ordnance, provision and victuals came forward, and the nobility of their realm, and the power they might make, were in this army, and in their best order. Upon the 6th or 7th of September they intended to approach near Twede, and the next day to fall upon their purpose. The report was, the Earl of Huntley had the vaward, the duke the battle, and the Earl of Cassels, and their nobility of their West, the rereward.

The lord lieutenant, Sept. 16, sent the council word, what advertisements he had received concerning the Scots' preparations, and other intelligence to that effect, as Sir James Croft had procured out of Scotland. But, notwithstanding all this, the council seemed loth to be at the charge of raising such forces as must necessarily be done to make a good resistance; because it was not yet certain the Scots were coming down. Therefore the council thought (as they signified back again) they ought to have such good espials in that realm, as to know more certainty in this affair: and that before any great stir were made, the lord president should have

The council advertised of it,

1557. certain intelligence, both from the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Wharton, and other officers on the frontiers; and their judgment was, that if he had good espials upon the Scotch actions, they could not so secretly assemble their powers together, but that he might have knowledge thereof time enough to meet with them. By such good espials, the council added, it might be known, what preparations they made, what their numbers, how many days' victuals they carried with them, and from day to day what their doings were; and he might re-inforce the borders, as their doings should give cause; and, as to his wisdom, it might stand best for the queen's service. The council also advised, that he needed not to make a full assembly of the army, unless the Scots should, with their main strength, go about to invade the realm; which could not be kept so secret, but it should come time enough to his knowledge to provide for them, either by the whole, or such part of the army, as he, by his wisdom, should think most necessary.

The lord president also sent for money and bows; in both which he had in like manner a dilatory answer. But the council's letter in this important emergency, lies to be read in the Catalogue.

No.  
LXXVII.

Crofts converses with a Frenchman and a Scot.

Crofts was an active crafty man; who, with Sir Rafe Bulner, of Yorkshire, such another, about this very juncture, got, by some means or other, into converse with two gentlemen of the adverse party, a Scot and a French man: where using free and open conversation together (and perhaps that accompanied with liberal drinking) they learned divers material points relating to the Scots' present designed enterprise; which Crofts soon got the lord lieutenant acquainted with, and he the queen and council. She liked it well. And from the council the said lord lieutenant was ordered to instruct them, that they should continue this acquaintance, and carry themselves very frank with those gentlemen, and to endeavour from them, to bolt out more and more the



Scots' intentions: and to make themselves the less suspected, should protest to them, that this communication is all of themselves, without any order or commission. 1557.

The lord lieutenant, to be nearer the Scots, was got as far north as to North Allerton. Thence, on September the 20th, he wrote to the Earl of Darby, lord lieutenant of the counties of Chester and Lancashire, to let him know, that according to such advertisements and knowledge as he had, the Scots intended to have an army of the power of Scotland in a readiness within two days of Michaelmas-Day, and therewith to invade, if not resisted. Therefore he required the said earl, with all the speed he could, to come forward with the whole force of Lancashire and Cheshire; and that he would be with the same force at Newcastle the 5th of October. The Earl of Darby, on the 22d of September, sent word to the said lord lieutenant, that he intended to set forward upon Thursday the last of September, and to come forward with the best speed he could; lying the first night at Blackborne, the second at Gisburn, and the third at Skipton, or near those places; trusting his lordship would have consideration to give order for payment of coat and conduct money, as had been accustomed in time past, remembering the simple and poor estate of the subject at that present; who otherwise were likely to be in great want.

From the Lord Wharton the lord lieutenant was, Sept. 23, informed again, that the Scotch army would be together near Edenburgh on Michaelmas-Day, and had sent to set forward three shires presently to their borders, saying, "That the army of this realm would be on the borders before theirs." He signified also in the same letter, that he had learned, the Scots grudged against this war, occasioned by the French; that there were sundry noblemen in Scotland, who would have peace with this realm, as an espial informed the said Lord Wharton, and said, "that if device were made, they would treat there-

The Earl of Darby summoned with the force of Lancashire and Cheshire. p. 452.

News of the Scots' army from the Lord Wharton.

1557. on." Whereupon the said lord made this judgment,  
His advice. that though this was told him upon intelligence, not from any authority or power to treat, yet he thought, that such practice might have been used, and that with money, so as at least a dissension might have been sown among them; whereupon their force should have been less: for division among themselves had already letted great enterprizes, which had been undertaken by the dowager to have been done before this.

Instruc-  
tions to the  
lord lieu-  
tenant con-  
cerning  
Scotland.

It being now known, about September the 20th, or sooner, that the whole army of the Scots was to be ready by the 2d of October, the queen's council hastened to give careful instructions to the Earl of Shrewsbury for the receiving of them, for the providing ammunition, bows, money, and victuals, and for the annoying of the enemy, ransoming of prisoners, wearing the cross for distinction according to certain Scots' articles, and such like. All which I had rather may be read from the council's own letter, Sept. 24, to the said earl, who had the leading of the whole English army.

No.  
LXXVIII

Wark  
Castle in  
danger.

p. 433.

Francis Slingsby had the care of the castle of Wark, in the confines, which was in great danger at this time; for it was but in an ill condition. And so the said Slingsby wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that according to his order, he had viewed the castle, and found it not so well furnished, nor in such force to defend the siege as he could wish it were. Notwithstanding he would go about with all possible diligence to help and amend, where it should be most needful for the defence thereof. But he promised, however, notwithstanding all wants, he would defend it so long as his life or his power and strength otherwise should continue. This letter of Slingsby's bore date September 29. On which day I find the Lord Wharton dispatching away from Barwick, ammunition to this castle, and a demy-culverin of brass to Norham, for which he had demanded carriage of the Bishop of Durham.

And it was now high time this preparation should be made: for, as the said lord informed the lord lieutenant, the army of Scotland was gathering with such power, ordnance and provision, as he had not heard of the like in his time.

The Earl of Darby was now setting forward with his men of both counties. And these were his captains, with the numbers of the men they led.

1557.  
A mighty  
army pre-  
paring in  
Scotland.

Earl of  
Darby  
brings the  
men of  
Cheshire  
and Lan-  
cashire.

## CAPTAINS IN THE COUNTY OF CHESTER.

| Captains.                                          | Men. |
|----------------------------------------------------|------|
| Sir John Savage . . . . .                          | 200  |
| Sir Will. Brereton . . . . .                       | 200  |
| Sir John Warberton 150 } . . . . .                 | 300  |
| Sir Edw. Warren 150 }                              |      |
| Sir Thomas Holcroft . . . . .                      | 100  |
| Sir Thomas Venables . . . . .                      | 100  |
| Sir Lan. Smith, with others adjoined . . . . .     | 100  |
| Sir Philip Egerton, with others with him . . . . . | 100  |
| Sir John Dawne . . . . .                           | 100  |
| Sir Will. Davenport, with others } . . . . .       | 100  |
| Robert Hyde, of Narbury, Esq. }                    |      |
| Sir Rol. Stanley, with others . . . . .            | 100  |
| Sir Hugh Cholmley, with others . . . . .           | 100  |
| Sir Edw. Fitton . . . . .                          | 100  |
| Sir John Lee, of Booth, and others . . . . .       | 100  |
| Rafe Dutton, Esq. and others . . . . .             | 100  |
| Richard Brooks 20 } . . . . .                      | 100  |
| The wards tenants 80 }                             |      |
| Rob. Tatton, Esq. } . . . . .                      | 100  |
| John Lee, and others }                             |      |

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Sum total 2000

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## CAPTAINS OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

| Captains.                      | Men. |
|--------------------------------|------|
| Sir Rich. Molineux : . . . . . | 200  |
| Sir Tho. Gerard . . . . .      | 200  |
| Sir Tho. Talbot . . . . .      | 200  |

1557.

Captains.

Men.

|                                                                                    |   |   |   |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|
| Sir Richard Houghton, because<br>he is not able to go himself,<br>doth furnish but | } | . | . | 100 |
| Sir Thomas Hesbeth, and others<br>with him                                         | } | . | . | 100 |
| Sir Thomas Langton                                                                 | . | . | . | 100 |
| Sir William Norrisse                                                               | . | . | . | 100 |
| Sir William Ratcliff, or his son<br>and heir, who is an handsome<br>gentleman      | } | . | . | 100 |
| Sir Thomas Atherton joyned<br>with him                                             | } | . | . | 100 |
| Franc. Tonstal, and others                                                         | . | . | . | 100 |
| Sir John Holcroft, or his son<br>and heir                                          | } | . | . | 100 |
| Richard Assheton, of Midd. and<br>others                                           | } | . | . | 100 |
| The rest appointed in Lancashire, were of the<br>Earl of Derby's retinue.          |   |   |   |     |

p. 434.

Remanded

But the queen, dreading the excessive charges of these forces brought from Cheshire and Lancashire, forbad the Earl of Darby to go forwards, and to stay his forces at home; minding, for the present, to resist the Scots' doings with a less force than the whole army; and that notwithstanding the lord president's former letter to him addressed. But yet to remain in a perfect readiness to come forward hereafter, if occasion required, upon any sudden warning, this good husbandry in this imminent danger, and countermanding his orders, certainly did not much please the said lord president.

Intelli-  
gence from  
Scotland.

Now came this particular account to him of the proceeding of the Queen of Scots, sent by some spy, viz. "That the Queen of Scots had her army in readiness, and did intend to lay siege to Wark: that she was coming to Hume Castle, where her provisions (viz. forty tun of wine, &c.) were come already. That the Duke of Chateller was lieutenant



general of the whole army. That the Earl of Argyle and the Earl of Huntley, with the whole nobility of Scotland, came this journey. That the 2d of October they were to muster upon Fallayr Moor, and that night they would set forwards on their journey to the borders. That the spiritual men and the burghesses of a certain place (Edinburgh I suppose) did find 5000 their charges. He related where, and what quantity of ordnance they had. That it was proclaimed in Edinburgh for forty days' victual; and that all the nobility of Scotland were presently at that city, save only the Earl of Sunderland, who lay at that time in Jedburgh with no great company." Thus minded they were at present; but yet it was doubted with many, whether they should agree to come forwards in their journey or not.

Thus, as there had been much talk of the Scots' invasion of England, so the intelligence of their entry into the said kingdom, and of their setting forwards, which came so hot in the beginning of October, somewhat slackened, partly through diversity of opinions among themselves, and partly through the foul weather and rising of the waters. But now being slipped further into the month of October, that is, to the eleventh day, it was certainly affirmed that the whole nobility of Scotland were come to the frontiers, and were waiting for the fall of the waters, minded that night to encamp about Hawden Ridge, near unto Wark; and so to bring their ordnance over the Tweed. Hereupon, the lord warden had assembled the garrison nearer together; which, with the power of the wardenry had lain scattered abroad in the villages from Morpeth forwards; doubting, lest lying together, they should waste the country, and want victuals. On the 11th day, the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, the Lord Talbot, who lay at Alnwick, set forward to the lord warden with such power as the earl sent with him, and he sent after him 600 foot more as a further supply. And the Earl of Westmerland, notwithstanding he had been

1557.

Supplies  
brought to  
the lord  
warden,

By the  
Ld. Talbot,

1557. sore diseased with the gout for four or five days, with the rest of his horsemen to the number of 300, purposed to be at Alnwick the next day, and so to repair to the lord warden.

And Sir  
Leonard  
Dacre.

p. 435.

Also Sir Leonard Dacre, son of the Lord Dacre, came from the West Marches with a number of the best borderers there, unto the East Marches, for the service of the king and queen, with 250 of the best men and horse of the West; but when they lay hereabouts for some days, and expected some wages, Sir Leonard being called upon by them, repaired unto the Earl of Northumberland, to know his pleasure herein; either that his men might receive wages, or to be told what way might be taken with the creditors for victuals and horse-meat: but the said earl surprized him, when he told him, that the lord president had taken order, that they should have no wages; which indeed was but the effect of an order from above, for sparing of money. Hereupon Sir Leonard wrote to the lord president, shewing him, "That this would be a perpetual disestimation of himself, who had led these men; and assuring his lordship, that there never was any that came from the West Marches to the East as he did, neither Sir Henry Wharton, nor any other being charged with men, but they had allowed both coat mony, conduct mony, and wages. The men also declared with one voice, that they never came but they had wages, charges and conduct mony, nor would they now do what was never done before. This knight therefore urged to the said lord president, that he was his poor kinsman, and was willing to serve with his body, heart, and purse, and the rather under his lordship, having the government and charge, than any other. And being but a young man and beginner in service, should be glad to do for the men that came with him, as others had done heretofore; and would be loth to lose his poor estimation that his countrymen had in him." Upon this letter, and the consideration of the present circumstances, the

lord president sent a portion of money to Sir Leonard Dacre for his men. 1557.

The Earl of Westmerland, October 13, came with his men. The bishoprick men were not above four hundred, and there were no horsemen: whereas in former time the Earl of Shrewsbury had seen the bishoprick serve at such a time with a thousand men, that is, upon an invasion: but the said earl gave the reason, saying, "That it would be so no more, so long as the gentlemen and rich farmers were suffered to tarry at home, and a sort of poor creatures, and men hired for mony sent forth, who had nothing to help themselves withal." This made him charge the bishoprick with untowardness to serve, as was then well seen. But the Earl of Westmerland, by a letter from Haggerston, October 16, made his complaint to the lord president, that when he came thither with his men, he found no kind of provision, and not so much as bread and drink. These wants, no question, did much disgust and discourage the soldiery, and might have proved of bad consequence, had it come to the push. The lord president was at hand with a thousand men.

And the Earl of Westmerland, and the bishoprick.

But at length all this mighty preparation in Scotland for invading England and taking of Barwick, blew over, as if some special providence were concerned in it on the behalf of this realm. For on the 17th of October, the Scotch noblemen had consultation together, and finding the weather most contagious, the time of the year for armies not good, their men running away, dying, and in misery, resolved to send to the dowager, that they would not continue together with that power, and that she should thereunto trust. And the next day they determined to confer and devise to furnish their frontiers for this winter. The messenger was sent accordingly from the nobles to her. And they the next day, according as they appointed, to provide for their frontiers; and the next night, that is October 19, they minded to retire and depart to

The Scots' nobility break up from their intended invasion.

p. 436.

1557. their countries. The Earl of Huntley was against their opinion; and thereupon they were sore offended with him, and said, that he should have no rule of their doings, and restrained his liberty for that day expressly: for they said they could do nothing at this time to the honour of their realm. This, an intelligence in Scotland, signified to the Lord Wharton, who also certified, that on the 17th of this month they brought over Tweed four pieces of ordnance; but in the passing over, two men and eight horses were drowned. Of this retreat of the Scots, the lord president sent word to the privy council with the particulars; which letter may be found in the Catalogue.

No.  
LXXIX.

Whereat  
the queen  
dowager  
takes on.

The same day that the nobles of the Scots appointed to disperse the army, the duke, the earls, Huntley, Murton and Argyle, came to the dowager and Docye, in Kelsowe. There the dowager raged, and reprehended these nobles for their promise; which was to invade and annoy England. Their determination to depart, and the consideration wherefore, these lords also told her: and thereupon, arguments grew great between them: whereat she expressed much sorrow, and wept openly. Docye was in great heaviness too, and with high words between them to this effect, they departed. Docye wished himself in France. The duke, with the others, passed to Jedworth, and kept the chosen men on their borders; the others in their number passed to their countries: yet it was said, that the Earl Huntley standing with the dowager's opinion for war against England, the others asked him plainly, whether he would be a Scotsman or a Frenchman. He, seeing therefore how they were bent, agreed to their opinion. There was a talk also now arisen, that the duke and the nobles minded to restrain the dowager of her authority, and Docel of his great meddling in Scotland. It was said moreover, that they intended to treat for peace with England by France; and that the duke would give fair words to the borderers,



until he might see what way could be made with 1557.  
England.

The English, soon after this retreat of the Scots, The Eng-  
revenged themselves: for the Earl of Northumber-lish enter  
land sent his brother, Henry Percy, accompanied Scotland,  
with Sir John Forster, Mr. Norton, and other  
gentlemen of the country (who were very forward) to  
enter into Scotland, with the gentlemen of the Middle  
Marches. In which journey they burnt the houses And burn  
and corn of Lynton, and sixteen towns more, and carry  
won the Tower of Lynton, and slew therein the away,  
laird's son, and had there a good spoil both of horse  
and goods, and after burnt it. Sir Andrew Car and  
a great party of Tividale came up unto them, and  
skirmished: in which skirmish was slain one George  
Car, of Hatton, a notable borderer and evil-doer to  
this realm, and divers their best prickers, to the  
number of twelve, taken prisoners. With which  
doings, and a great booty of cattle, horse, sheep and  
houshold-stuff, they returned home safe without loss,  
save one man hurt and taken.

But notwithstanding all these warnings and alarms p. 437.  
from Scotland, still the discipline of the English Negligence  
soldiery on the borders was strangely neglected. And on the  
the officers appointed by the king and queen for Bar- borders.  
wick, the chief bulwark against Scotland, were very  
negligent. Of which the Lord Wharton, governor  
of the place, complained by a letter writ in No-  
vember to the lord president, wherein he certified  
him, that there were these ordinary officers of the  
town, appointed by letters patents, a captain, a  
marshal, a chamberlain, a porter, a master of the  
ordnance. These, with the mayor for the year, were  
counsellors of the town. Every one of them had a  
yearly entertainment, and a certain number of men  
allowed in wages. The state of whom, at this  
present, was thus: Thomas Cary, the marshal,  
was a good true gentleman, and an old servant. The  
chamberlain, Sir Robert Elerker, had discontinued  
from his office and charge sithence the war began,

1557. and a long time before. The treasurer, Alan Bellingham, was also absent. John Selby was the porter: who, together with all the other officers, had neither of them their numbers in a readiness to serve, as they ought to have been.

I have been the longer and more particular in this part of history, because none of our historians mention any thing at all of the present state of affairs between Scotland and England, wherein the queen and council, and the North of England, were now so much concerned.

## CHAP. LVII.

The queen makes war with France. The cardinal's counsel to the queen in this emergence. Calais lost. The Spaniard the occasion thereof. A parliament.

HAVING thus seen the success of the queen's war with her neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, where she was only on the defence, let us now consider her war with France, a more powerful dominion, where she made the assault, but to her cost.

The English break with France by King Philip's means.

King Philip, who had been absent abroad in Flanders a great while, in March, the latter end of the year 1556, came into England for his own ends; and the queen and her nobles conducted him through London with great magnificence. Being here, he dealt with the queen and council to break with the Monarch of France, with whom he was fallen out, and to assist him with an army of English, to go over and annoy that dominion: which most fatal counsel was taken, to the irreparable loss of England, Calais in this war being conquered. Though it were one of the articles of this marriage comprized in the conditions by act of parliament, that the realm should not for his cause enter into war with France; as Sir Tho. Smith, in a discourse, writes. The English army made a brave shew, consisting of abundance of nobi-

lity and gentry, and headed by the Earl of Pembroke, 1557.  
 their general, who got themselves glory by a victory  
 at St. Quintin's. The king staid in England all the  
 spring, to effect his purposes here with the queen and  
 her counsellors; and leaving divers orders with them,  
 in the summer he departed. In this expedition of  
 the English against the French, among the rest of p. 438.  
 the gallant officers that were to go, the Earl of Pem-  
 broke, the general, appointed the Lord Gray, a brave Lord Gray.  
 captain, for one, late captain of Guisnes, who had  
 there signalised himself against the French; but the  
 privy council did not seem to approve of his going,  
 and belike had some peculiar suspicions of him, of  
 which they wrote to King Philip; and he accord-  
 ingly writ to the earl, to advise with himself whether  
 it seemeth good to him, that the said Lord Gray, for  
 the cause which the council signified, should not  
 rather tarry in the place where he was? But the earl  
 was not of that opinion, but that by all means he  
 must go with him to the king's army, as it was ap-  
 pointed; and so it was done. And so King Philip,  
 by letter, informed the council.

The queen was now full of thought and care to fulfil her husband's mind, and to gratify him in this dangerous affair, though she needed money greatly to pay her debts; and this war would ingulph her into greater need of it, and a parliament was therefore to be moved for a large tax, which would not be very acceptable to them. She being minded, therefore, to lay matters before her privy council, first consulted with Cardinal Pole, taking his advice, in what method to put the business she was to propound before them that afternoon, and required him to give it her in writing.

So the cardinal, with his own hand, writ the queen a memorial, "That she should put her council in mind of what the king had given in charge at his departure, to be executed by such lords as were to be employed against France; and that, by having it reduced into articles, and put into writing, for their

The queen  
wants mo-  
ney to  
carry on  
this war.

The cardi-  
nal's coun-  
sel to the  
queen  
hereupon.

1537. better taking notice of it. That particularly, according as the king ordered, all the queen's chief counsellors should be always present, and not be allowed to be absent; specially such weighty matters being now in hand to be prepared for the parliament, and the time so short before their sitting. That the queen should know what her council determined about the proroguing the parliament till towards Candlemas, or the return of the king; or whether it were better not to prorogue it, considering the present extremity for mony, both for setting out ships, as well for the emperor's passage to Spain, as the king's return; and for payment of what was due to Calais and Ireland, and for the queen's credit, who ought much mony to the merchants? He advised her also to call in her own debts, which was one of the points the king left in writing for the council to consider of presently. It was his judgment, therefore, that she should charge the council that were concerned in this matter, to be very diligent in the prosecution thereof, and that every week they should let her know what mony came in, and what order was taken for the rest; and that all, who had received any commissions from her for any business, should not let a week pass without giving in account to her of what they had done: which he thought would help much to the speedy execution of all causes." But I refer the reader to the Catalogue for this paper.

No.  
LXXX.

p. 439.  
Treachery  
in the loss  
of Calais.

But this compliment to King Philip, in taking his quarrel with France, cost England dear, even the loss of that important town of Calais, as was said before, and the territories thereunto belonging; which being all taken so easily and so suddenly by the Duke of Guise, occasioned great jealousies and suspicions among the people, that there was some base treachery used in some of Queen Mary's courtiers, that betrayed it to the French. And, to conceal the great men that had their hands in it, the blame was cunningly conveyed upon some others of less note that were innocent. To justify this that I write, I find



these notes following, under John Fox's hand, in one of his papers: "At the losing of Calais, the Bailiff of St. Katharine's (to lay the blame upon him, an innocent person, as it seems) was sent down with letters by Sir Richard Southwel (a great privy counsellor) to Dover, the council then sitting there, and all the fault laid upon him by privy letters from the said Southwel to the council; which letters the said bailiff carried himself (little knowing the contents of them)."

1557  
Foxii MSS.

"Cardinal Pole was noted to be a doer therein, for the composing of the French king's mind towards the pope.

"Thirdly also, when he heard of the loss of Calais, drank carouse to it, and called it *a fisher town*.

"Certain men were sent from Westminster to Calais, and the good soldiers dismissed."

Yet truth it is, the King of Spain, soon after the taking of this town (perhaps yet for some ends of his own) made an offer to England to assist them in the recovery of its honour, which he saw suffered much by the loss of it. But the queen's condition was so low, both in purse and courage, that the thoughts of the charge, and despair of providing fit officers, made her wholly to decline it, and patiently to sit down under the loss. And so her council signified in a message back to the king, dated February 1, 1557; which I shall exemplify from a Cotton MS. wherein may be seen, how sunk the hearts of the English nation now were:

The King of Spain offers his aid for recovery of it.

Titus, B. 2.

"First, to say, That we be most bounden unto his majesty for his good affection towards this realm, and his gracious disposition and offer to put his force to the field this year (being else otherwise determined) for the recovery of that honour and reputation which this realm hath lost by the loss of Calais.

The English decline it, and why.

"To say, That this offer of his majesty we should not only have upon our knees accepted, but also in likewise have sued first for the same. And so undoubtedly we should have done, if other respects

1557. hereafter following (which we trust his majesty will graciously understand) had not been, to our great regret, the let thereof.

“ First, We do consider, that if we should send over an army, we cannot send under two (rather to be read *twenty*) thousand men: the levying and sending over whereof will ask a time; before which time (considering also the time the enemy hath had, being now almost a month, to fortify and victual the place) it is thought the same will be in such strength, as we shall not be able alone to recover it.

p. 440. “ We do consider, how unapt and unwonted our people be to ly abroad, and especially in the cold; and what inconvenience might follow also at their hands (besides the loss of charges), if their hope for the recovery of Calais should not come to pass.

“ The charge of this army, if it should go over, would stand the realm in 170,000*l.* at the least, for five months; which sum (having regard to other necessary charges for the defence of the realm both by land and by sea, which the people only have in their heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of Calais) neither we doubt will be granted of the people; nor, if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to serve the turn.

“ Great garrisons continually, and an army for defence against the Scots and Frenchmen by land, must of necessity be maintained; the charge whereof will be one ways and another, go the next way we can, ere the year go about, 150,000*l.*

“ The defence of the sea-coast and isles, and the setting forth of an army by sea, will cost the realm in a year, all things accounted, above 200,000*l.* And yet all will be too little that way, if the Danes and the Stedes (Swedes), which we have much fear of, should be our enemies.

“ The sum amounting in the whole to 520,000*l.* beside provision of munition, which will be chargeable, and furniture of ordnance, whereof we have great lack by the loss of Calais and Guisnes, we see

not how it can be levied in one year to serve us, unless the people should, of new, have strange impositions set upon them, which we think they cannot bear.

1557.

“ The queen’s majesty’s own revenue is scarce able to maintain her estate; the noblemen and gentlemen, for the most part, receiving no more rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for every thing they provide, by reason of the baseness of the money, are not liable to do as they have done in times past. The merchants have had great losses of late, whereby the clothiers be never the richer. The farmers, graziers, and other people, how well willing soever they be taken to be, will not be a-known of their wealth; and by the discontentment of this loss, be grown stubborn and liberal of talk.

“ So that, considering our wants on either side; our lack of money at home, our want of credit, by reason of this loss, abroad; the scarcity of captains and leaders of our men, which be but few; the unwillingness of our men to go abroad, and leave their things at home, without any certain hope of recovery of their loss; the need we have to defend home (looking, as we do, to be assailed both by land and by sea), how desirous soever we be to recover Calais, and well-willing to serve his majesty (either for that purpose, or for any other thing, wherein it shall please him to employ us); we see not how we can possibly, at the least for this year, send over an army, nor until we may be assured of fewer enemies than we fear to have cause to doubt, and have time to bring such as be evil men among our people, and now be ready, against their duties, to make uproars and stirs among ourselves, to order and obedience.

“ Wherefore, in most humble wise, upon our knees, we shall beseech the king’s majesty to accept in gracious part this our answer, which we make much against our hearts, if we might otherwise chuse. And as for our own persons, we shall bestow them, with

p. 441.

1557. all that ever we have, to the death, where, and howsoever it shall please him; submitting ourselves to his majesty's judgment in this matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatsoever, either his majesty or any other man, shall devise to be done, better than we have said in this answer, and more for the honour and sureties of their majesties, and commonwealth of this their realm."

The ill re-  
sentment  
of this ex-  
pedition.

Printed at  
Geneva,  
an. 1558,  
p. 207.

But to see what was commonly talked of the above-mentioned expedition, wherein were employed many Londoners and many Gospellers, take a passage of Christopher Goodman's book, intituled, "How to obey or disobey," which spake the sense of many English: "I will speak a word to them which be called Gospellers, and yet have armed themselves against the gospel, drawing forth with them out of their country, to maintain Philip's wars, and to please *Jezebel* (who seeketh, by that means, to cut their throats craftily), their poor and ignorant tenants, and other soldiers without knowledge, while their brethren be burned at home, and their country like to be wasted, spoiled, oppressed, possessed, and replenished with ungodly Spaniards. Is this the love that ye bear to the word of God, O ye Gospellers? Have ye been so taught in the gospel, to be wilful murderers of yourselves and others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people and your country at home?—This hath not the gospel taught you; but chiefly in all your doings, to *seek the righteousness of God*, next to *love your neighbours as yourselves*, and in no case to be murderers; as all you are, that either for pleasure of princes, or hope of promotion, or gain of wages, are become captains or soldiers in unlawful wars, especially in this cause and dangerous time." And, a little after, speaking to London, "Thou can'st not herein defend thyself, which since hast been ready, and yet art, to maintain wicked *Jezebel* in her tyranny at home, and in her ungodly and needless wars abroad, with thy goods and body at her commandment, being thereby made an aider, helper,



and furtherer of all her ungodly oppressions and 1557.  
tyranny."

And Will. Kethe, a Scot, and exile at Geneva, Kethe's  
poetry  
upon it. shewed his good-will to the Spaniard and this expedition, with respect to the English assisting them, in these stanzas :

For France spighteth Spain, which England doth treat;  
And England proud Spaniards with salt would fain eat:  
Yet England proud Spain aids with men, ships, and boats,  
That Spain (France subdued once) may cut all their throats.

A people perverse, repleat with disdain,  
Through flattery, fain hide would their head and vile train;  
Whose rage and hot lust, deceit, craft, and pride,  
Poor Naples, their bond-slave, with great grief hath try'd.

Lo! these be the birds which England must feed,  
By planting of whom to root out their seed;  
Their own lands and life by them first devoured,  
Their maids then and wives most vilely deflowred.

p. 412.

Is this not strong treason, yea, un noble blouds,  
To aid such destroyers both with lands and goods?  
But when they thus pinch you, and ye put to flight,  
To what fort then flee you, or where will you light?

For England thus sold for Spaniards to dwell,  
Ye may not by right possess that ye sell;  
They seeing your treason against your own state,  
Will not with theirs trust you, which they know you hate.

To Scotland or France, if ye then should cry,  
Your vile deeds now present, they may well reply.  
And Dutchland abhors you. This then doth remain,  
When Spaniards are placed, ye must to New Spain.

But oh! dreadful plague, and sign of God's wrath,  
On such noble *gnatos*, strong foes to God's troth,  
Whom fond fear hath framed to prop such a stay,  
As country and people so seek to betray.

This war, which was maintained not only against France, but Scotland, ran the queen into extraordinary charges; and the nation was in daily expectation of being invaded by one or both enemies: so that she was forced to require aid of her people, for maintaining an army to resist any invasion; and she obtained it of the parliament that began to sit Ja-

A parliament gives  
the queen  
money.

1557. nuary 20, in this fourth and fifth of the king and queen, and brake up March 7 following. The clergy gave her an intire subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, "Now," as the act ran, "when the imminent necessity of the defence of the realm required present aid and remedy." The parliament gave her one subsidy, one fifteenth and one tenth. Then she also obtained an act for the turning all Frenchmen out of the nation, as such as privily informed her enemies of the counsel, state, and privacies of the realm; and not only so, but for the making void all letters patents for denizonship of any aliens or strangers born French, since the 32d of Henry VIII. as to her highness should seem good; which was very hard. In this parliament were these three private acts: 1. For assuring the Honour of Raleigh to the Queen. 2. For the Restitution of Sir Ambrose and Sir Robert Dudley. 3. For the Foundation of an Hospital at Stoge-Podgies, in Berks.—But now proceed we to Ecclesiastical matters,

Private  
acts.

p. 443.

## CHAP. LVIII.

A journal of memorable matters, happening in the month of February, and some part of March.

February.  
A grant to  
the friars  
of Green-  
wich.

February 1, **T**HE queen, under her hand and seal, granted to the friars of Greenwich, towards their relief and succour of fuel, one acre of wood in her wood, called the West Wood, in the parish of Lewisham.

Sir Harry  
Capel bu-  
ried.

February 3, Sir Harry Capel, Knt. was brought into Little St. Bartholomew's, beside St. Anthony's, (that is, near where the French church now stands in Threadneedle-street), to be buried by his grandfather, Sir Will. Capel, Knt. and lord mayor of London: which Sir Harry was son and heir to Sir Giles Capel, who was buried in Essex. At this funeral were three heralds of arms, a standard, a penon of arms, &c.

All the church hanged with black and arms; four great tapers, four gilt candlesticks, two great white branches, and twelve poor men had black gowns; and after, all repaired to his house to dinner. Dr. Bricket made the sermon at the mass. 1557.

One Langerich, of Chesterton, for forging of divers writings and testimonials, was, February 4, by the Star-chamber, adjudged to go about Westminster-hall with a paper on his head, with these words therein written, *For forging of false testimonials*; and after, to be set on the pillory in the Palace at Westminster, and also at Cambridge on a market-day, for more knowledge and publication thereof. Forgery.

February 6, the Bishop of Westchester preached at Paul's Cross. This audience was made up of sixteen bishops, the lord mayor and aldermen, and many of the judges; and there he declared, that on Wednesday next all persons were required to go on general procession, and to pray to God to avert his judgments. Bishop of Westchester preaches.

On the 9th, a commandment came, that all bishops, priests, and clerks, should go a procession about London, and the lord mayor and aldermen, and all the crafts in London, in their liveries, to pray unto God. And all the children of all the schools, and of the hospitals, in order about London, were called to this general procession. A general procession.

On the 10th, the Lord Dacres, of the North, his son, was arraigned at the King's Bench at Westminster, for the death of Mr. West, son and heir of Sir William West, Knt.; the which West was slain coming from Rothegam fair. There were upon him and his six men, forty of Mr. Dacre's party, all in harness; by whom he was shamefully murdered in May, 1556. For this murder he took sanctuary in Westminster, and in a procession suffered himself to be whipt for it. Now, a year and three quarters after, he was brought, I know not how, to answer at the King's Bench bar, where, it is remarkable, certain men, of the friends of Mr. West, deceased, Lord Dacre's son arraigned for a murder.

1557. offered battle with Mr. Dacres and his party, and to fight at combat on a day set.

p. 444.  
Sturton,  
keeper of  
Whitehall,  
buried.

On the 11th, Anthony Sturton, Esq. the keeper of Whitehall, and brother to the Lord Sturton, was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields. This man was receiver of all the copes of cloth of gold, that were taken away out of all churches in King Edward the Sixth's time, by the device of the Duke of Northumberland, and certain of the then bishops. And he delivered the said copes back again, for the same parishes' use to which they formerly belonged ; that is, as many as could be known and owned ; if they had not been disposed to other places in the realm. And this by the allowance of Queen Mary, when she came to the crown.

Mr. Py-  
nock, a  
brother of  
Jesus, bu-  
ried.

On the 16th, Mr. Pynoke, fishmonger, and merchant of Moscovia, and a brother of Jesus, was buried with two good white branches, &c. attended with the company of the clerks and many priests ; then came the mourners, and after the brotherhood of Jesus, four-and-twenty of them, with black satin hoods, with I H S on them, and after the Company of the Fishmongers, in their liveries. All being performed at church, the company retired to his house to drink. This brotherhood of Jesus seems to have been a *guild* or *fraternity*, newly founded after the old popish custom ; and perhaps called themselves the Brotherhood of Jesus, in favour of the new Order of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loiola.

Sir George  
Barnes  
dies.

The 18th of February, died Sir George Barnes, Kt. haberdasher, late mayor of London, viz. at the time of the queen's coronation.

Bishop of  
Lincoln  
preaches  
at Paul's  
Cross.

Feb. 20, Dr. Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, preached at Paul's Cross. There were ten bishops present, besides the lord mayor and aldermen, judges and men of the law, and a great audience.

Sir George  
Barnes bu-  
ried.

On the 24th, Sir George Barnes aforesaid, chief merchant of the Moscovy Company, was buried. There was borne the penon of the Moscovy arms. The mayor and sword-bearer had black gowns ; and



fourscore poor men were clad in black gowns. There was a standard, and five penons of arms and coat armour, &c. a goodly herse of wax. Dr. Chadsey made the sermon on the morrow; and after, a great dinner. Mr. Clarentieux and Mr. Lancaster were the heralds. 1557.

On the 25th, the Lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, came riding from her house at Hatfield to London, attended with a great company of lords and nobles, and gentlemen, unto her place called Somerset Place, beyond Strond-bridge, to do her duty to the queen; and on the 28th she repaired unto her grace at Whitehall, with many lords and ladies. Lady Elizabeth comes to town.

On the 26th, the Lady White died, wife to Sir Thomas White, late mayor of London, merchant tailor, and merchant of the Moscovy. Lady White dies.

March the —— day, the queen's pensioners mustered in Hyde Park, and all their men in green cloth and white. The Earl of Rutland took the muster of them. March. The pensioners mustered.

March the 2d, was the Lady White buried, in Aldermary parish. There was a goodly herse of wax, and eight dozen of pensils, &c. The chief mourner was the Lady Laxton, whom Mr. Roper led; after came the lord mayor and twenty aldermen, following the corpse; four banners of images, two great white branches; the morrow-mass and a goodly sermon, and all the crafts in their liveries. Poor men had gowns, and poor women. There were three masses sung: one of the Trinity, and one of our Lady, and the third of *Requiem*; after, to the place to dinner; whither resorted the lord mayor, aldermen and gentlemen; for there was as great a dinner as had been seen. p. 445.

March the 4th, aforenoon, the Lady Elizabeth's grace took her horse, and rode to her place at Shene, with many lords, knights, ladies and gentlewomen, and a goodly company of horse. Lady Elizabeth goes to Shene.

The —— day, never was so low an ebb: for men might stand in the midst of the Thames, and might An extraordinary ebb.

1557. have gone from the bridge to Billingsgate; for the tide kept not his course; the which was never seen afore that time.

Lord Abbot at Paul's Cross. The 6th day, being the second Sunday in Lent, my Lord Abbot of Westminster preached at Paul's Cross, before the lord mayor and bishops.

The parliament ended. The 7th, the parliament was that day holden at Whitehall, and ended at seven a clock at night. Divers acts made.

The queen goes to Greenwich. The 10th, the queen removed unto Greenwich in Lent, in order to her keeping Easter there.

Lady Jennings dies. The 14th, the Lady Jennings, daughter to Sir John Cage, Kt. late constable of the Tower, died; and on the 16th was buried in the Minories.

An assembly at Guildhall, by the queen's command. The 16th, the lord mayor and aldermen assembled at Guildhall. For they had a commandment from the queen, to procure of the city to lend her a round sum. There sat the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, lord privy seal, the Bishop of Ely, with others of the council, as commissioners.

The city lend the queen money. The 19th, the mayor and aldermen went unto Guildhall; and there all the crafts in London brought in their bills, what their companies would lend unto the queen, to help her in her affairs toward the wars.

The paschal for the abbey made. The 21st, was made the *paschal* for the Abbey of Westminster, which consisted of 300 pound weight of wax. There were at the making, the master and warden of the wax chandlers; and after a great dinner.

Earl of Sussex goes to Ireland. The same day the Earl of Sussex took his journey in post for Ireland.

Four condemned to the fire. The same day were brought before the Bishop of London and other learned men of the temporality, four men, whose opinions were such, that they were judged and condemned to suffer death by fire; one whereof was a hosier, dwelling in Wood-street. Three of these four were burnt in the latter end of this month: one whereof was Cutbert Simpson, the faithful deacon of the congregation; who endured infinite

tortures, to make him confess and discover the names of the members of this congregation; which he would not. 1557.

The 22d, the lord mayor and aldermen went unto Guildhall, whither the queen's council also came about the loan; as first, the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, lord privy seal, the Bishop of Ely, Sir John Baker, Secretary Petre, and many more; and after went to the lord mayor's to dinner. The queen's council go to Guildhall.

The 23d, a proclamation was set forth, of certain acts made by the last parliament, ended the 7th of March last. p. 446. Proclamation.

Among other women burnt to death this year, upon pretence of heresy, that is for adherence to the profession of the gospel, Alice Drivers was one; who, before this execution, underwent a very severe punishment, for comparing Queen Mary, in respect of her persecutions, to Jezebel, and called her Jezebel; who was adjudged, by Sir Clement Higham, a judge in that reign, to have both her ears cut off; and so they were.

## CHAP. LIX.

Preparations against an invasion in the West. Instructions to the Lord Lieutenant of Devon and Cornwall.

THIS year went out in great fears of storms ensuing, and with a prospect of dangers from abroad. For about the middle of March were grounds to expect some sudden invasion from France on the coast of Cornwall or Devon, and that some in those counties were ready to rise upon the landing of any such insult. Which occasioned the queen hastily to send down the Earl of Bedford, a good soldier, and lord lieutenant of those western shires, to put them in a readiness, to take order for the beacons, to muster the militia, to see to the horse and arms, to punish vagabonds, and spreaders of tales and rumours; and

The Earl of Bedford sent down into the West.

1557. to see to the preserving of peace and quietness, especially at the collecting of the subsidy lately given by parliament. But to give more light to all this, I will set down at large, the instructions given to the said lord lieutenant, at his departing.

His instructions.  
Titus, B. 2.

*“Instructions given by the king and queen’s majesty to their right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Bedford, appointed their highnesses lieutenant of the counties of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall, and their city of Exeter, the xvi day of March, the iv and v years of their majesties reign.*

“MARY THE QUEENE.

p. 447.

*“Imprimis,* The said lieutenant to have with him his commission, his instructions and his letters. To depart forthwith to his charge with all diligence. To give order strait for the raising of beacons, and watching of the same, according to such orders as be appointed; and to give the charge of beacons to men of understanding. To cause muster to be taken of all persons within his lieutenancy, of their weapons and of their armour; and to pick out and describe all the able horsemen and footmen, their names and dwelling places. To call all the gentlemen of the shire together, and to take view of all their serving-men, and of all such horses and geldings as they have, meet to set the serving-men upon; and to consider what number there is of them able to carry a demilance; and how many light horsemen; to appoint meet captains for the horsemen and for the footmen, such as he shall think most convenient, dividing the shire by hundreds, or such numbers as he shall think meet. To appoint to every captain the number he shall lead. To deliver him the names and dwelling-places of his number; and to deliver him a precept or commandment for the numbers within that hundred, to obey him, and to all officers for his assistance, if any will disobey. To order every captain to take often musters and views of his band;



seeing them furnished with weapons and armour convenient, so as he may well know them, and have them always in a readiness. To appoint to what places, and upon what warning every captain shall resort with his men for defence. To consider what dangerous places there be for the landing of the enemies upon the sea coast, and to cause the inhabitants next unto the place (and if they be not able) their neighbours next unto them, to help them to make of new, or repair, as the case shall require for defence of the place, trenches and bulwarks of earth. To cause the inland dwellers of the shire to furnish the numbers that go from their quarters for their defence at the sea-coast, not only of sufficient mony to pay for their victuals when they come there, but also to have consideration of their charges in coming back again, and of the time (which may be ten or twelve days) of their abode upon the sea-coast; whereunto the said inland-men may be induced, seeing the other go forth to adventure their lives for their defence, and to the intent that they may remain the more quiet at home. The lieutenant, if he see the force of his enemies on land so great, as he shall not be able with the force of his charge to withstand them, then to withdraw himself, with his forces, to places of advantage within his charge, breaking the bridges behind him, cutting of trenches, throwing down of trees, and giving such other impediments to the enemy as may be devised, until a greater force may come unto him for his aid: giving immediately, upon such landing, advertisement unto the queen's highness or her privy council, or to other lieutenants next joining unto him, for his further aid. To cause diligent watch to be kept in all towns and burroughs within his lieutenancy, according to the order prescribed for the same. To have special regard for the punishment of vagabonds, spreaders of evil tales, and devisers or reporters of seditious rumours, by such pains as are ordained by the laws of the realm in that behalf. To see the king and queen's highness

1557.

1557. served of all hable men indifferently; that no man meet to serve, be withdrawn from service by partiality, favour, or other-like pretence, and unmeet men placed in lieu of them. To have a special care to keep the shire in good order and quietness, especially at the time of levying the subsidy. To see the statute made for musters and furniture of armour, in this last session of parliament, truly and uprightly executed, and kept of all such as they shall put in trust to muster or levy any number of men; and therefore to have a special care, as they tender their highnesses service, and the maintaining of the subjects good will and duty towards them.

MARY the Quene."

## CHAP. LX.

- p. 448. A fleet equipped against France. Divers memorials of matters and events in the months of August, September, October, November and December.

1558.  
The king  
expected.

**T**HERE was great talk, in May, 1558, and expectation of King Philip's coming over with speed to England, though the merchants, strangers in London, thought otherwise, and that he could not yet conveniently be spared; for indeed the wars grew hot between him and the French. However, the queen earnestly looked for him; and horses and his wardrobe were gone as well to Dover as to Harwich. The lord admiral went also to Dover, to prepare the fleet and shipping.

Great pre-  
parations  
against  
France.

For all things were putting in a readiness for him, and preparation was made of a very great army of soldiers, which were to serve him upon an expedition now resolved against France; and the lord treasurer, who was the Marquis of Winchester, was made lieutenant-general South of Trent, and the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland were appointed to be head officers of the army. At Portsmouth there

were then ready two hundred and forty sail ready victualled. However, the merchants and others now reported, that peace was ready to be concluded between King Philip and the French king. The first occasion thereof was by means of the Dutchess of Lorraine. This news was writ from London, by a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to him; who being president of the North, was providing forces in those parts. The money was at this time extremely scarce, and never so hard to come by at London, and as hard to be gotten at the Exchequer. From both which places the said earl had expected money for the present purpose. But at length his receiver wrote him, that he was in hope to receive his money at the Exchequer. 1558.

The present design was, by the help of the English fleet, to which that of Spain was to join, to assault and take Brest, in Britain, from the French. But after the taking and spoiling of another sea-port in Britain, called Conquet, and some other neighbouring towns, they departed, finding it not safe to make any further attempt against Brest. And soon after were overtures made of peace between King Philip and France; which nevertheless took not place, because the French would not hear of restoring Calais. A design to take Brest.

In July they were raising men in the North, and 1500 men were appointed to be raised in the county of Darby, by the Earl of Westmerland. Which county consisting of eight hundreds, or wapentakes, six of them, together with the town of Darby, pertained unto the Earl of Shrewsbury, and which were parcels of the rules, offices and inheritance of that nobleman: these hundreds were Scarsdale, High Peak, Appletree, Wirksworth, Hartington Soyle, Melbourn Home. Therefore it lay in this earl to assign the proportion of men to be raised in these his hundreds; and he accordingly assigned 400 men only, having, it is probable, raised for to serve under him, good numbers before. But this caused some discontent in the Earl of Westmerland, that so many Men raised in the North. p. 449.



1558. as 1100, being the remaining number to compleat 1500 men, should be taken out of two hundreds, namely, Morlaston and Repton. Which therefore caused him to write a letter to the earl concerning this matter.

August.  
Lady Row-  
let's obse-  
quies.

August the 3d, the Lady Rowlet, late wife to Sir Rafe Rowlet, Kt. was buried in St. Mary Staining, honourably; and, after mass, the company retreated to the place to dinner, which was plentifully furnished with venison, fresh salmon, fresh sturgeon, and many other fine dishes. This seems to have been her anniversary, for she was buried in December 1557.

Alderman  
Machyl  
dies.

The 12th day died Mr. Machyl, alderman of London, merchant of Moscovy, and clothworker. He was (saith my MS.) a worshipful man, and a *godys man* to the poor, and to all men in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, in Milk-street, where he lived and died; in a house wherein Alderman Hind died. Had he lived, he had been mayor the next year.

His burial.

And, on the 21st, he was buried in the said parish church, with five penons of arms and coat armour, and four dozen of torches, and four branch tapers double store, with arms and pensils upon wax. All the church, the street, and the place (his house) hanged with black and arms. There attended the funeral the mayor and aldermen, and an hundred in black. Eight dozen of escutcheons, and four dozen of pensils, and an hundred men in mantle freeze gowns. And on the morrow-mass three masses sung; two of prick song, and the third of *Requiem*; and a sermon made by a grey friar. After the offices of the church were performed, the lord mayor and aldermen, and all the mourners and ladies, went to dinner, which was very splendid, lacking no good meat, both flesh and fish, and an hundred march-panes.

An Irish  
archbishop  
buried.

Aug. 17. A bishop of Ireland (viz. Dowdal, Archbishop of Ardmagh) who died the 15th, was carried from the George, in Lumbar-d-street, by water, to be buried.

On the 20th, Mr. Morton, one of the Gray Amisis



of Paul's, and the Bishop of London's crosier, was conveyed from London to Fulham, to be buried.

1558.  
The bi-  
shop's cro-  
sier buried.  
Prior of St.  
Bartholo-  
mew's  
buried.

On the 22d, Dr. Peryn, master of the Black Friars in Smithfield (which was the first house of religion set up by Queen Mary in her time) was buried at the altar side afore St. Bartholomew. When King Henry VIII. rejected the pope, and dissolved monkery, he became a voluntary exile, and after twenty years returned home; and under this queen was made much use of to preach up the papal superstitions. He remained a stiff opposer of the reformed religion to the last. Four sermons of the eucharist, preached by him, he caused to be published, wherein he extolled the mass. Against whom, with respect to those sermons, Parkhurst made some verses, beginning,

Desipis, insulas qui fers ad sydera missas, &c.

On the 23d, Dr. Cook, dean of the Arches, and judge of the Admiralty, a right temporizer, was buried in St. Gregory's, beside Paul's. The church hanged with black and arms, &c. There were present all the brethren of Jesus in satin hoods, and J. H. S. upon them, with all the priests of St. Paul's. In January following, was set up for him a coat armour, and a penon of arms, and two banners of saints.

Dr. Cook,  
Dean of  
the Arches,  
buried.  
p. 450.

On the 24th, a gentleman, unnamed, was carried from Gray's-inn, in Gray's-inn-lane, unto St. Andrew's parish, in Holbourn; and there *Dirge* sung; and after, carried through Bartholomew Fair unto the Black Friars there. And at the gate all the friars met him, and had *Dirge* sung, and then buried him there. Such was the opinion of being buried within the walls of a monastery.

One buried  
in St. Bar-  
tholomew's

Ditto, Sir George Paulet, Kt. brother to the Marquis of Winchester, was buried honourably. This gentleman married one Mrs. Lark, once a mistress to Cardinal Wolsey.

Sir George  
Paulet  
buried.

On the 29th, was the Lord Windsor buried very splendidly, according to his quality.

Lord  
Windsor  
buried,

September *initio*, Judge Stamford was buried at

1558  
September  
Judge  
Stamford  
buried.  
The queen  
in better  
health.

a town beyond Barnet. He was one of the queen's sergeants at the famous trial of Sir Nic. Throgmorton, anno 1554.

The 5th. The queen had of late been very ill, and indisposed in her health, but now she was better than she had been ten or twelve days before; which Sir William Cordel, one of the privy council, thought fit to signify in a letter, dated September 5, from St. James's, to the Earl of Shrewsbury in the North.

Judge  
Morgan  
buried.

The 6th day, Judge Morgan was buried in Northamptonshire, honourably, with four banners of images.

Sir Andrew  
Jud bur-  
ied.

The 14th, was buried Sir Andrew Jud, skinner, merchant of Moscovy, and late mayor of London; with ten dozen of escutcheons, an herse of wax, and five principals, garnished with angels, many poor men in new gowns, and two heralds.

Lady  
Southwel  
buried.

On the 20th, the Lady Southwel, wife to a privy counsellor of that name, was buried at Shoreditch.

Lady  
Cecilie  
Mansfield  
buried.

Ditto, the Lady Cecilie Mansfield, deceasing at Clerkenwel, was brought unto the Black Friars, in St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, with banners of saints. The Lady Peters, wife to the queen's secretary of state, was chief mourner; and her servants bare the lady's train, and bare torches also in black coats. She was buried afore the high altar, at the head of the old Prior Bolton. The church, choir, and rails hanged with black and arms. The friars sung *Dirge* after their song, and buried her after their fashion, without clarks or priests. And after to the place to drink. And on the morrow were three masses said. And there was a goodly sermon preached by the father of the house, as ever was heard (saith my MS.) teaching and admonishing to live well.

L. Cobham  
dies.

On the 25th, died the Lord Cobham, in Kent, knight of the garter.

Lady  
Pecksal  
dies.

On the 26th, died the Lady Pecksal, in the country, wife to Sir Richard Pecksal, Kt. and daughter of the Lord Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer.

October 23. — Wentworth, Esq. cofferer unto Queen Mary, died, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster. 1558.  
October.  
Mr. Wentworth dies.

Ditto, Mr. Cotton, a great rich man of the law, was buried at St. Giles's without Cripplegate. p. 451.  
Cotton, a lawyer, buried.

On the 24th, Dr. Owen, physician to the queen, was buried at St. Stephen's, Walbrook. He had also been physician to King Henry VIII. and, no doubt, to his son King Edward. Dr. Owen buried.

November 12. A woman was set on the pillory, for saying the queen was dead. November.  
A woman pillorized.

On the 17th, being Friday, in the morning, Queen Mary died. And though her reign were now expired, yet I will continue on my journal a little farther, till her interment. The queen dies.

The same day Queen Mary deceased, in the morning, between eleven and twelve aforenoon, the Lady Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen by divers heralds of arms, and trumpets, many noblemen and knights present, as namely, the Duke of Norfolk, the lord treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Bedford, the lord mayor and aldermen, and many more. In the afternoon, all the churches in London rung their bells; and at night were bonfires made, and tables set in the streets, and the people did eat and drink and make merry. Queen Elizabeth proclaimed

On the 18th, the Lord Cardinal Pole died at Lambeth, between five and six in the morning; and there he lay till the council set the time that he should be buried; and where, and how. Cardinal Pole dies.

The same day *Te Deum Laudamus* was said and sung in every church in London. Te Deum sung.

November 20. Dr. Bill, Queen Elizabeth's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, and made a godly sermon.

Ditto, Gruffith, the Bishop of Rochester, and parson of St. Magnus on London-Bridge, died. Bishop of Rochester dies.

Nov. 22. Robert Johnson, gentleman and officer to the Bishop of London, was buried honourably in Jesus Chapel (a chapel, I suppose, in St. Paul's or Johnson, an officer to the Bishop of London, buried.



1558. St. Faith's) many mourners in black; and all the masters (or brothers) of Jesus in their black satin hoods. The morrow-mass and a sermon. And after, a great dinner and a dole of money.

Basset  
buried.

On the 26th, — Basset, Esq. one of the privy chamber to Queen Mary, was buried at the Black Friars in Smithfield, with tapers, arms, heralds, &c.

Burial of  
the Bishop  
of Roches-  
ter.

On the 30th, the Bishop of Rochester was carried from his place in Southwark unto St. Magnus in London: he had an herse of wax, and five dozen of pensils, and the choir hung with black and arms, two white branches, two dozen of torches, two heralds of arms. Sir William Petre, chief mourner; many mourners: twelve poor men had black gowns, and twelve of his men bare torches. The Bishop of Winchester preached. After he was buried, they went to the place to dinner. He had a great banner of arms, four banners of saints, and eight dozen of escutcheons.

December.  
Lady  
Cholmely  
buried.

December the 7th, the Lady Cholmely, wife of Sir Roger Cholmely, Kt. late lord chief baron, was buried in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate, with four banners of saints.

p. 452.  
Dr. Wes-  
ton buried.

December 8. Dr. Weston, some time Dean of Westminster, was buried at the Savoy.

Heralds  
made.

The 9th, Mr. Richmond, herald, was created Norroy by the queen at Somerset-place; and Ricebank created Bluemantel.

Dr. Dune  
buried.

The 9th, Dr. Gabriel Dune, priest, was buried honourably at St. Paul's.

Queen  
Mary  
brought  
out of her  
chapel.

On the 10th, the deceased queen was brought out of her chapel, with all the heralds, many lords and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen, and all her officers and servants in black.

The cardi-  
nal's body  
removed  
towards  
Canter-  
bury.

The same morning the corpse of the lord cardinal was removed from Lambeth, and carried toward Canterbury with a great company in black; drawn in a chariot with bannerols wrought with fine gold, and great banners of arms, and four banners of saints.



The 11th day, Mr. Verney, master of the jewel-house, was buried within the Tower. 1558.  
Mr. Verney buried.

The 12th, Sir George Harper, Kt. (one of those in Sir Thomas Wyat's business) was buried at St. Martin's, Ludgate. Sir Geo. Harper buried.

On the 13th, were the funerals of the late queen magnificently celebrated at Westminster. The queen's Funeral.

But now we turn back to see how matters stood with the church, and in what state religion was, this last year of the queen.

## CHAP. LXI.

Cardinal Pole's commissions. Advowsons settled upon the see.  
Causeth some to be burnt.

IN the beginning of this year, Archbishop Pole (pretending to take some care of his diocese) issued out a commission, dated March the 28th, against the heretics there (as the honest professors of the gospel were now called) to Nicolas Harpsfield, Rob. Collins, Richard Fawcet, Hugh Turnbull, S. Th. PP. John Mills, Hugh Glazier, and John Warren, S. Th. BB. canons and prebendaries of Canterbury: these were commissioned to absolve, admit and receive into the bosom of the church, those that confessed their errors, and retracted and abjured them; and to enjoin them penance. But the obstinate, and such as would not be brought to the unity of the church, to reject, and cast them out of the communion of the church, and to commit and deliver them to the secular power: yet adding this condition, *Si facti atrocitas ita exposcerit; If the heinousness of the fact shall so require.* And to such sentences he required two of them, at least, to join and give their assent and consent. This commission opened a door to a great persecution in Kent this year.

The archbishop gave another commission to Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, dated May the 24th, to Commission for conferring orders.

1558. confer orders, as well in his diocese, as elsewhere in other dioceses of his province.

Commis-  
sion for  
All Souls  
College.

The cardinal, as he was Archbishop of Canterbury, had a power of visiting All Souls College, Oxon. And, on July 20, signed a commission to Dr. Henry Cole, his vicar general, to visit the said college.

p. 453.  
Commis-  
sion to  
Harpsfield.

But the said Dr. Cole, whether by resignation, or otherwise under some cloud with the cardinal, was this year divested of the spiritual offices conferred on him the last. For I find a commission, dated October 28, from the cardinal to Nic. Harpsfield, to be his official; and another of the same date to be Dean of the Arches. And yet a third, two days after, authorizing him to visit All Souls College abovesaid.

Divers ad-  
vowsons  
given to  
the card-  
inal.  
Regist.  
Card. Poli.

There were letters, dated November 5, in the fifth and sixth years of the king and queen; whereby were granted to Cardinal Pole and his successors, Archbishops of Canterbury, the perpetual advowsons of divers vicarages, rectories and churches in the county of Kent, and within the diocese of Canterbury, viz. Hernehil, Folkeston, Reynham, Bredgar, Selling, Merden, Graveney, Settingborn, Lydd, Tilmanston, Kennington, Maydston, Monnington, Godneston, Asse, Whitstable, Leed, and Salmiston cum Dean. These letters patents were pursuant of an act of parliament, as is mentioned in the said letters, which parliament was held on the 21st of October, the 2d and 3d of the king and queen; importing, "That whereas divers rectories and benefices impropriate, glebelands, tiths, oblations, pensions, portions, profits, and emoluments ecclesiastical and spiritual, which from the twentieth year of King Henry, came into the hands of the said king; and at his death into the hands of King Edward, and after into the queen's hands and possession, should be disposed, ordered and applied, and converted by the most reverend father, Cardinal Pole, then legate *a latere*, and now Archbishop of Canterbury, for these uses, 'Ad in-  
' augmentationem et incrementum victuum incum-

‘ bent. prædict. aut aliarum curarum et benefici-  
‘ orum indigent. vel aliter in prædicatorum (præ-  
‘ dicatorum) sustentationem aut scholarium susten-  
‘ tationem:’ that is, for the augmentation and in-  
crease of living for the foresaid incumbencies, or  
other poor cures and benefices; or else for the sus-  
taining of poor preachers, or the maintenance of poor  
scholars within the kingdom, and being denizons of  
England, according as should seem best to the wis-  
dom of the said cardinal; the patronages of which  
benefices, rectories and vicarages were then in the  
queen. And when she was given to understand, that  
many of the rectories and vicarages were then void  
and destitute of curats; and likewise that such a want  
was throughout all the diocesses of her kingdom,  
partly through the death of the incumbents, but  
chiefly because the rents and revenues of the said  
livings were so small and strait, that they sufficed not  
for the sustaining of able and learned curats; by the  
defect of which it was come to pass, that the people  
were not instructed in the sincere and catholick doc-  
trine and religion; nor were the sacraments and  
sacramentals administred to them; not without the  
anger and indignation of Almighty God, and the great  
danger and hazard of many Christians; the burden  
and care of all which, did especially and properly  
belong to the ordinaries of such diocesses: to which,  
if the distribution of the patronages of all and singu-  
lar the benefices were committed, they would be so  
much the more obliged to provide and collate fit and  
able persons for those places: WEE therefore, as the  
letters proceed, desiring to be disburdened altogether  
of this care, and in consideration of the sum of 7000l.  
of lawful mony of England, by the said most reve-  
rend cardinal offered to us; together with the con-  
sent of the rest of the prelates of this kingdom, of  
their meer and free will unasked, out of the rents,  
revenues and profits of the said benefices, and de-  
livered into our hands, for the sustentation and better  
supportation of our great burdens in defence of our

1558.

p. 454.

1558. kingdoms and subjects; have granted to the said cardinal and his successors, the archbishops, all the patronages, advousons, donations, and free dispositions and rights of patronage of the churches aforesaid." The procuring this to the archbishoprick must be recorded for one of the good deserts of this cardinal to his see.

The cardinal burns five of his diocess.

This last year of the cardinal's life, he foully polluted his hands in blood, which he seemed hitherto to be shy of doing; and this as the effect of his late commission against hereticks: for he issued out an instrument, called a *Significavit*, dated from Lambeth, July the 7th, to the king and queen, against certain hereticks in his diocess. These were John Cornford of Wrotham, Christopher Brown of Maidston, John Hurst of Asheton, Katharine Knight of Thornham, and Alice Suoth, or Snoth, of Bidden-den: of whose heresy his commissioners, Harpsfeld, Collins, and the rest, had informed him. The cardinal therefore, in the said instrument, prayed the king and queen that they might be cast out of the fold as diseased sheep, lest they might infect others. "Cum igitur sancta mater ecclesia non habeat quod ulterius facere, et exequi debeat, in hac parte vestris regiis sublimitatibus, et brachio vestro seculari, dictos hæreticos et relapsos, relinquimus, condigna animadversione plectendos." "When therefore, as the instrument proceeded, holy mother church hath not any thing further that she ought to do in this behalf, we leave the said hereticks and relapsed persons to your royal highness, and your secular arm, to receive condigne punishment." And a warrant, I suppose, hereupon, being sent down for their execution, they were all burnt alive at Canterbury, November 10, being but seven days before the queen's death and his, and the last that were burnt in that reign.

We have seen what commissions went forth from the cardinal this year, 1558, and what his commissions were for the other two years past, as I carefully took them out of the register; by which we may



perceive that the cardinal never did, in his own person, ordain, or consecrate, or visit, but did all by others: whether it were his exalted station, or his constant employment about the queen in matters of state, or his infirmities, that made him neglect the offices of his function, I leave to others to determine. 1558.

## CHAP. LXII.

p. 455.

Proceedings with the hereticks. Commissions for enquiry after such in Essex. A loan. The statute for burning hereticks examined.

WE are now in the last year of Queen Mary; and the persecution still held; which though sharper, yet was less dreaded: insomuch that the papists, seeing how little all their endeavours had prevailed, began now to think of some other ways to suppress the religion. There was one Dale, a promoter, who told Mr. Living, a minister, and in bonds for religion, "You care not for burning; by God's blood (as he swore) there must be some other means found for you." Such was the courage of good people in those days: and so far were the persecutors from obtaining their ends (viz. that by burning some, the terror thereof might reduce the rest to submit to the old superstitions) that it had a quite contrary effect. They were encouraged and made more strong and resolute to persist in their principles, by the many examples of constancy they had so often before their eyes. They begin to think of other courses to check religion.

Some of these vented their resentments of the cruelty of this time, by making songs against the government, and against the barbarous usage exercised to the queen's poor quiet subjects. There was one Cornet, a minstrel's boy, suffered for it. As at a wedding near Colchester, being bid to sing some song out of the scripture, he sung a song called, *News out of London*; which was against the mass and the queen's proceedings; for which he was Songs made against the mass.

1538. complained of, and committed to custody, and brought before the Earl of Oxford, and was whipped for his pains.

Commis-  
sioners sent  
to Colches-  
ter.

In the beginning of this year, in the month of April, by virtue of a commission from Bonner, the bishop, and some warrants also from the council, Dr. Chedsey and Thomas Mowrton, the bishop's chaplains, and John Boswel, his secretary, went down to Colchester and Harwich, to examine the hereticks in those parts of Essex, and to condemn them to be burnt: for though they had burnt so many, yet many more remained here. Bonner gave them a letter to the Lord Darcy, to countenance and further them in this business. And the officers and under-sheriff were zealous to serve them. Upon their first coming down they examined six in one day, and condemned them the next: and so were making quick work with many more. Some whereof had been not long before spared and sent home, by means of Abbot Feckenham, who grew weary, as it seems, of these butcheries. But by the providence of God, or some secret friends at court, while these bloody men were very earnest at this their cruel business, the council sent for the chief of them up to court immediately, viz. Chedsey, to confer with him upon certain matters. The letter ran thus:

p. 456.  
Chedsey  
recalled by  
a letter  
from the  
council.  
Foxii MSS.

“AFTER our hartie commendations, having certain matters, wherein we would further talk with you, we have thought good to will and require you, in the king and queen's majesty's names, to make your indelayed repair unto us. At which your comyng, you shall further understand the cause of your sending for. Whereof we require you not to fayle, as you tender their majesties' favour. From Grenewych, the 20th of April, 1558.

Your loving frends,

|                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Nic. Ebor. Cancel.</i> | <i>Thomas Wharton.</i> |
| <i>T. Cornwalleis.</i>    | <i>H. Bedyngfeld.</i>  |
| <i>T. Clynton.</i>        | <i>Jo. Boxal.”</i>     |

This was a mighty surprize to the bishops commissioners; for they were very loth to be taken off. 1558.  
Loth to be  
taken off.  
 “ Because (as they said) there were so many obstinate hereticks, anabaptists, and other unruly persons, then in Essex, as never was heard of.” So Chedsey wrote first to the lord chancellor to excuse coming up. “ Because of the great employment he was busie upon; and that he would repair up as soon as he had done the king and queen’s affairs.” And likewise to the bishop to further his stay, writing to him in this manner :

“ After my most humble commendations to your honourable good lordship: this present Thursday, I, with the residue sitting in commission at Colchester upon the hereticks, received letters by a pursevant, directed to me only, to appear indelayedly before the council for certain matters. We be now in the myddest of our examination and articulation. And if we should give it off in the midst, we should set the country in such a rore, that my estimation, and the residue of the commissioners, shall be for ever lost. And principally the queen’s majesty, with her honourable council, shall be less regarded, and your honourable good lordship utterly condemned, ‘ Quia ‘ cæpit ædificare dominatio vestra,’ &c. Chedsey’s  
letter to  
the bishop  
hereupon.  
*Ubi supra.*

“ Wold to God the honourable council saw the face of Essex, as we do see. We have such obstinate hereticks, *anabaptists*, and other unruly persons here, as never was heard of. And now to be called from our doings, it wyl be taken that we have no commission, but came of your lordship’s cominancement, without any other warrant from the honourable council.

“ I have written to my lord chancellor’s grace, and have made my lawful excuse, with promise to make my repair indelayed, as soon as I have done my service in the king and queen’s affairs. I beseech your honour to further this matter to God’s glory, the majesty of the quene, the honour of the council, the estimation of your lordship’s dignity, our honesty,

1558. and the quietness of the country, now drawing to some conformity. And thus I commit your honour to the tuition of Almighty God. Written at Colchester, 21 Aprilis, 1558, by your perpetual and daily orator,

WYLLIAM CHEDSEY, Priest."

p. 457.  
Chedsey  
preaches at  
Thame, a-  
gainst the  
professors.

This Dr. Chedsey was a very zealous man for the popish religion; and in King Edward's days maintained a publick dispute about the *presence* in the sacrament, with Dr. P. Martyr. Under Queen Mary he was preferred to two good canonries, viz. first, that of Windsor, afterwards that of Christ-Church, Oxon. I have this note further to make of him. At Thame, in Oxfordshire, not long before he was put into the commission abovesaid, about 1556 or 1557, as I conjecture, he made an earnest sermon against the gospellers, and therein willed his auditors to make their complaints against such as were suspected to profess God's word, or to keep any books contrary to the papal religion. "At this sermon was one Robert Runsse, alias Child, present; who was an horrible papist, and being glad that he might have occasion to trouble the professors, did marvellously rejoyce that day, and glorying in the same, was suddenly stricken, being in the church at evening prayer; and after that never spake, but died miserable. This man's life was evil, and his religion such, joined with presumptuous boldness, that there was not such an impudent papist in the whole country. He was a singing man in the choir, and a great persecutor." This was part of a letter written in the year 1569, from Francis Hall, of Thame, and minister there, as I suppose, to Mr. Field, living at London; who conveyed it to Mr. Fox, as a matter proper for that *ecclesiastical* historian's cognizance.

A judg-  
ment upon  
a persecu-  
tor.  
Fox. MSS.

But though Chedsey was called away from the exercise of his bloody office, yet the two other that remained behind, followed their work. And concerning what they had already done in this com-



mission, they wrote the bishop this account, April 1558. the 22d.

“Yesterday being Thursday, we finished the examination of three most obstinate and comberous hereticks: for one of them held us all the forenoon, and the other two all the afternoon. This morning, being Friday, we intended to finish the examination of the other three, and at afternoon to pronounce sentence of them all, if we shall find cause. There is little hope in them. One of these to be examined is a woman, and of those that my Lord Abbot did deliver. The officers of this town be very diligent with us, and the undershereve. To-morrow being St. George's Day, we intend to ryde to Harwich. My Lord Darcy and my Lord of Oxford sit here daily for the assesment of the countrey. We delyveryd your lordship's letter to the Lord Darcy upon Wensday, and his lordship gave unto us good swete words for his assistance. We shewed my Lord of Oxford, that for so much as we were sure of my Lord Darcy to have his presence nere unto Colchester, and supposing we should not have seen his lordship, therefore your lordship dyd not wryte to his honourable lordship. And thus hasting to mass, and so forth with our business, I wysh to your honor *omnem felicitatem*.

What was  
done by  
those in  
commission

Your lordship's most bowden bedesman,  
And humble servant,

THOMAS MOWRTON, Priest.

Your lordship's daily orator and poor officer,  
JOHN BOSWEL.”

The assesment of the country, mentioned in this letter, in the making of which, the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Darcy are said to sit daily at Colchester, was a great loan of money the queen, at this time, borrowed of her subjects, to carry on a war with the French, which she had imprudently undertaken for the sake of her husband, King Philip. Of some she took ten, of others twenty, forty or

p. 458.  
The people  
murmur at  
a loan.  
Coop.  
Chron.

1558. fifty pounds, according as their abilities were judged: which caused a great grudging among the people, because but the year before she had borrowed from the city, and of most rich men in all parts of the nation; sending abroad a number of privy seals, by which she required a hundred pounds a-piece of all such as were counted able, whether they were gentlemen or others. This was in 1557; which also caused grudging, because great payments had been granted before by act of parliament. This opened people's mouths against the Spaniards; thinking these payments to come especially upon their account, and for the charges of their wars.

The two  
acts of par-  
liament for  
burning,  
examined.

In all these bloody doings before said, it is to be remarked, that they bare out themselves by the pretended laws of the land. And so did Cope and Parsons, and other papists, throw in Mr. Fox's dish, when he charged them with their cruel putting to death such numbers of poor people, only because they differed from them in some points of religion. They commonly proceeded upon two acts of parliament; one was from *anno quinto* Richard II. which was occasioned by certain preachers, who went about the towns and countries to draw away people to their sermons: such preachers were to be imprisoned at the certificates of the prelates. But here is no mention made of burning, but only of arrests to be made of them. The other statute was in the next reign, viz. *anno 2* Henry IV. By virtue of which, the secular power had authority to bring such hereticks to the stake and burn them, whom the bishops delivered to them. Now both these, in truth and reality, were of no force at all as laws of the land, as appeared to the industrious Mr. Fox, who searched the rolls.

The first  
act repeal-  
ed.  
*Ex Rotul*  
Fox, last  
edit. p. 667,  
under K.  
Henry V.

For he found the former act to be revoked the year after it was made, viz. *anno 6*, upon the words of the commons, which were these: "Forasmuch as the same statute was never assented, ne granted by the commons: but that which therein was done,

was done without their assent, and now ought to be undone: for that it was never their meaning to be justified, and to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates, no more than their ancestors had done before them." And yet, notwithstanding this revocation, they inquired upon this statute in Queen Mary's days. 1558.

As for the latter act, viz. that of King Henry IV. it was never assented to by the commons, and so could be no law of the land: for in the Rolls the statute is thus intituled, The latter never had the commons' consent. Ibid.

*Petitio Cleri contra Hæreticos.*

And assented to in this form: "Quas quidem petitiones prælatorum et cleri superius expressatus, do. noster rex de consensu magnatum, et aliorum procerum regni sui in præsentì parlamento existentium, concessit; et in omnibus et singulis juxta formam et effectum eorundem ordinavit, et statuit de cætero firmiter observari," &c. p. 459. Where is no mention at all of the commons. The clergy being aware of this, in a printed Statute-book, and in the Latin and English Provincial Councils of Oxford, corrupted the rolls, and foisted in a clause, to make it a law of the land, viz. "Ac etiam communitates dicti regni."

## CHAP. LXIII.

Books prohibited under severe penalties. Goodman's book. Protestant congregations in London. Goldwel. New bishops nominated. Horn, a martyr.

A SHORT but terrible proclamation was this June put forth by the king and queen; whereby the having of certain books, and not burning them, was attended with this penalty—to be executed presently by martial law, and the persons to be taken and reputed for rebels. Nor is it specified particularly what books these be by name, nor what sort of books, any more than "Books filled with heresy, sedition, A severe proclamation against certain books.

1558. and treason, and whereby God was dishonoured, and encouragement given to disobey lawful princes :” under which words, or some of them, any protestant books might be comprized. The proclamation being short, I will insert it :

“ BY THE KING AND QUEEN.

“ Whereas divers books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have, of late, and be daily brought into the realm, out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof; whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governours: the king and queen’s majesty, for redress hereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, That whosoever shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, doth not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall, in that case, be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall, without delay, be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law. Given at our manor of St. James, the 6th day of June.”

Noel’s remark thereon. Confutat. of Dornan, fol. 48, b.

Of which proclamation Alexander Noel, a learned and a good man, living in these times abroad, afterward Dean of St. Paul’s, made this remark : “ This is the proclamation procured by papists against our books, the bringers in, sellers, buyers, readers, or keepers of them; assigning the penalty of cruel and sudden death by law martial, without examination, question, verdict, and judgment: not only unusual in this realm, but more hasty and cruel than is used for any murderers, rebels, or traitors.”

p. 460.

Goodman’s book.

There was one book, indeed, that came out this year, which this proclamation might have a particular eye to, viz. Christopher Goodman’s book: it was intitled, “ How superior Powers ought to be obeyed



of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's Law, be disobeyed and resisted. Wherein is declared the Cause of all this present Misery in England, and the only Way to remedy the same. Printed at Geneva, by John Crispin, MDLVIII." The preface is writ by Will. Whittingham, then also at Geneva. Though a little book, in *decimo-sexto*, it is full of bitterness, and encourageth to take up arms against Queen Mary, and to dethrone her; and that upon this reason, among others, because it is not lawful for women to reign. As it had Whittingham's preface at the beginning of it, so had it William Kethe, another divine at Geneva, his approbation in verse at the end; which verses will shew the intent of the book :

1558.

Whom fury long fostred by suff'rance and awe,  
Have right rule subverted, and made will their law,  
Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell—  
So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.

Kethe's  
verses on  
it.

Rebellion is ill, to resist is not so,  
When right true resisting is done to that foe,  
Who seeks, but by ruine, against right to reign,  
Not passing what perish, so she spoil the gain.

A publick weal wretched, and too far disgraced,  
Where the right head \* is off cut, and a wrong instead placed; \* Qu.Jane.  
A brute beast untamed, a misbegotten,  
More meet to be ruled, than rule over men.

A marvellous madness, if we will behold,  
What sighs shall assure men, to see themselves sold :  
And yet when from slavery their friends would them free,  
Do stick to their foes ; so still slaves to be.

Such treating of the queen as this was, did, no question, irritate her much, and provoke her to issue out such angry declarations of her mind, and resolutions of taking vengeance of all such like book-writers, or book-readers.

But to proceed with our history. Many congregations of gospellers continued in London throughout this reign, from the beginning to the end of it, in spite of the hardships thereof, and notwithstanding

Bentham,  
an exile,  
becomes  
minister to  
the congrega-  
tion in  
London.

1558. the taking off so many of their members. There was one chief congregation above the rest, the pastor whereof was as *superintendent*. These pastors were, Mr. Scamler (afterwards bishop), Mr. Fowle, Rough, (a Scot, afterwards burnt), Aug. Bernher, Latimer's faithful servant. The last year of the queen, succeeded in this office Thomas Bentham, lately an exile in Germany (afterwards Bishop of Litchfield), who, as it seems, was sent thence, or went voluntarily, chiefly by the persuasion of Mr. Lever, and became preacher to this congregation, administered the sacraments, and performed the whole office of a minister; and besides, governed the church, in appointing and ordering the matters thereof, according as things occurred. To him they betook themselves for resolution in cases of conscience; whereof there were three happened this year: one was about a young woman, married in her non-age to a certain person, with whom she was altogether unwilling to live, but was forced to it; the second was about going to the papistical courts, and following their suits and causes there; the third was about paying tithes and duties to the popish priests. Which cases, though Bentham himself did give his resolution to, yet he thought good, for the better satisfaction of his people, to send beyond seas for the judgment of the eminentest learned exiles there, and for Peter Martyr's opinion also. For which purpose he wrote this letter to Mr. Lever (a person of great fame among the exiles for his learning and piety), then pastor of the English congregation at Arow, in Switzerland:

Foxii MSS. “ *The grace and favour of Almighty God be with you and your godly congregation, Amen.*

Bentham  
to Lever,  
concerning  
the present  
persecu-  
tion. “ My duty binding me to remember my dear friends, and our great dangers moving me to desire their help, inforce me at this present, both to write unto you, and desire your most godly and effectuous prayers, dere brother, and lovyng freynde, Mr. Levir. For now I stand in the gapp, whereas you have so

earnestly talked with me. Now, therefore, help me with your prayers, and I shall think that you stand present at my back, or on my right-hand. Whiles I was in Germany at liberty of body, havynge sufficient for it for the time, I was yet many tymes in great greyf of mynd, and terrible torments of hell; and now here beyng every moment of an hour in danger of takynge, and fear of bodily death, I am in mynd, the Lord be praysed, most quiet and joyful, seying the fervent zeal of so many, and such increase of our congregation in the myddest of thys cruel and violent persecution. What shold I say, but *a Domino factum est*? There were VII men burned in Smithfield, the XXVIIIth day of July, altogether; a fearful and cruel proclamation beyng made, that under payne of present death, no man shold either approche ny unto theym, touche theym, nather speak unto, nor comforthe theym: yet were they so mightily spoken unto, so comfortably taken by the hands, and so godly comforted, notwithstanding that fearful proclamation, and the present threatnyngs of the sheriff and sergyants, that the adversaryes themselves were astoyned. And synce that tyme, the Byshop of London, either for fear or craft, carryed seven more, or six at the least, forthe of his Cole-house to Fulham, the 12th day of this moneth, and condemning theym there the 13th day, at one of the clock at afternone, caused them to be carryed the same tyme to Brane-ford besyde Syon; where they were burned in post-haste the same night. This fact purchaseth hym more hatred than any that he hath done of the common multitude.

1558.

“ This I signify, that you, knowyng owr great daungers, may the rather move your godly company to pray more earnestly for us. p. 462.

“ It is constantly wrytten by letters to London, that two townes a little from Nottyngham, about the 4th or 5th day of this month, were wonderfully beten and shaken with thounder, and such storms, many were slayn, and mo were hurt, with great wonders;

1558. which I take to be a token of God's great displeasure for synne, who will make heaven and earth wytness agaynst wickedness. And yet men, for the most part, were never more careless, nor malyciously merry than they are now. God amend theym.

"I would gladly have your counsel and Mr. Martyr's in these three questions, if you have leasure at any tyme to walk to Zuriche: First, Whether a yong woman, marryed at non-age against her will, and so kept by force, be a lawful wife, or not, unto hym with whom she ys compelled to remaine against her wyll? Secondly, Whether the professors of the gospel may prosecute theyr right and cause in any papistical court, or answer, beyng called thereunto; or take administration of goods in such court? Thirdly, Whether the professors of the gospel, not communicating with papists, may yet as well pay their tithes and such duties to the papists, as tribute, custome, and subsidy, to evil rulers and wicked magistrates? I trust, that I have answered some of my frynds in these questions according to the truth; yet wold I have your judgment, both for greater confirmation and comforth unto theym, and for my further instruction also. If you can shortly send me word of these, you shall greatly comforth me, and help to confirme my fryends in the ryght ways. I pray you commend me to all your company by name most hertily in our Lord Jesus Christ, who bless and keep you to the comforth of his congregation.—Written at London, the 17th of July.

"Salute all my friends at Zurich by name, I pray.

By yours to his power,

THOMAS BENTHAM.

"To his dear friend and godly brother, Mr. Levir,  
these be dd. at Arowe."

Bentham  
present at  
the burn-  
ing of some  
in Smith-  
field.

At the burning of those seven in Smithfield, mentioned in this letter, was Bentham himself present; and could well testify what he wrote, that little regard was had to the severe proclamation, that none should



1558.  
 speak to them, or comfort them, or pray for them :  
 for he himself, as soon as he saw fire put to them,  
 cried aloud to the people, “ We know they are the  
 people of God ; and therefore we cannot choose but  
 wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them :”  
 and added, “ God Almighty, for Christ’s sake,  
 strengthen them !” And he was presently answered  
 by multitudes, *Amen, Amen*, to the amazement of  
 the officers.

In October, Sir Edward Carne, Knt. and Doctor Goldwel,  
 of Laws, that had been long ambassador at Rome Bishop of  
 with the pope, was now, upon his desire, called St. Asaph,  
 home ; and the queen was upon dispatching Thomas to be dis-  
 Goldwel, the Bishop of St. Asaph, in his room ; a patched to  
 person, as she wrote to the pope in her letters Rome.  
 credential, well approved by him. For he had lived p. 463.  
 long abroad for the sake of the Roman catholick  
 religion, and had conversed much with Cardinal Pole  
 there, and was employed by him in a message into  
 England to the queen. But he went not to Rome  
 in this intended embassy, the queen dying before he  
 could be dispatched ; yet the next year he fled away  
 beyond sea, and left his bishoprick ; and was after-  
 wards famous for nothing I know of, but for obtain-  
 ing of the pope, with much ado, an enlargement of  
 the patent for pilgrimage, and offering to St. Wine-  
 frid’s Well, in Flintshire.

In the month of October, divers sees being vacant, A promo-  
 the queen made a promotion of bishops : whereof tion of  
 this Goldwel above mentioned was to be translated bishops,  
 to Oxon ; her chaplain, Francis Mallet, D. D. upon  
 the death of John, late Bishop of Salisbury, to be  
 made bishop of that see ; and Thomas Wood, B. D.  
 she appointed for St. Asaph. And there were ac-  
 cordingly three letters prepared from King Philip and  
 Queen Mary to Pope Paul IV. to admit these three ;  
 which letters were all dated in the month of October.  
 In the letter for Mallet, she signified to the pope, Mallet.  
 that she had first offered this bishoprick to William  
 Peto, of the Franciscan Order ; whom, she said, she

1558. would have preferred the rather to this place, because she heard he had been thereunto nominated by the apostolic see; but that, when she sent for him, he excused his acceptance of this dignity, by reason of his age, and other causes alleged. In her letter for Wood, she told the pope, that she chose him to this honour, for his constancy in the catholic religion in the most difficult times, not suffering himself to be allured by rewards, nor terrified by punishments.— But these letters, I guess, were never sent away, at least not delivered, the queen's illness and her death the next month preventing.

Edward  
Horne,  
martyr.

About eight weeks before the end of this reign, suffered, for the profession of the truth, one Edward Horne, of Newent, in the diocese of Gloucester, or Worcester. He was burnt in a place called the Court Orchard, near the Church-yard; and his wife was condemned with him, but she recanted, and refused to suffer with him. He sung at his burning the cxlvi. Psalm, until his lips were burnt away; and then they saw his tongue move, until he fell down in the fire. This I relate the rather, because it was omitted by Fox in his Martyrology, as probably many others that suffered in those cruel times might be, for want of information. He makes mention, indeed, of one John Horne, and a woman, that suffered martyrdom for the testimony of their faith at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire. One John Deighton, a worthy minister, as it seems, somewhere in those parts, above seventy years after, had been so curious to inquire after the truth of this, and other relations of Mr. Fox, and could not be satisfied that any such persons had suffered there: but in such a space of time, the memory of it might be worn out. But he concluded hence, that it was a mistake through the default of others, that made the certificate for Mr. Fox out of the Registers of Gloucester or Worcester. Whereupon this gentleman, a new edition of Fox being then in hand, sent up this information; and out of that reverence that he bore to the memory

of Mr. Fox, whose person and place of dwelling he knew, and the honour and love he bare to his works, he wished that this small error, which was none of his, were amended. But whether that were a mistake or not, it is certain that one Edward Horne suffered at Newent, where this Deighton had been, and spake with one or two of the same parish, that did see him there burnt, and did testify that they knew the two persons that made the fire to burn him: they were two glovers or felmongers, whose names he had in his note-book. And his son was then alive in the same parish, called Christopher Horn, an honest poor man, being about seventy-five or seventy-six years of age, and born in Queen Mary's time, about a quarter of a year before his father suffered. His mother, that promised to suffer with her husband, but recanted after she was condemned, was afterwards married to one that lived at Teynton, within a mile or two of Newent. 1558.

## CHAP. LXIV.

Treaty about Calais. The queen's sickness and death, with Cardinal Pole's. Her character. Her funerals. Remarks of her reign. Meetings of protestants in this reign. And their persecutions.

TOWARDS the end of the queen's reign, there was a meeting near Dorleas, between the commissioners of France, of Spain, and of England; and some overture of peace was made, but broke off upon the article of the restitution of Calais. And (to shew what further became of the business of Calais) after Queen Mary's death, the King of Spain renewed the like treaty, wherein Queen Elizabeth concurred. The commissioners for the said princes met at the Castle of Cambray. In the proceeding of this treaty, at the first, the commissioners of Spain, for form, and in show only, pretended to stand firm upon the demand of Calais; but it was discovered, that the king's mean- <sup>Treaty about Calais.</sup>

1553. ing was, after some ceremonious and perfunctory insisting thereupon, to make a separate peace with the French, excluding the queen, which he did. And so left her to make her peace, after her realm had made his wars; as we are told in an answer to a libel against Queen Elizabeth, touching her proceedings with Spain. So little beholden was this kingdom to that match with Spain.

Cott. Vol.  
Jul. F. 6.

The papists contrive to put by Lady Elizabeth.

p. 465.

Fox's Acts,  
p. 181.

The queen's behaviour in her sickness.

As the queen declined in her health, and grew worse and worse, by a feverish distemper, wherewith the kingdom was then grievously infected, insomuch that there was little hope of her life, the papists beat their heads to put by the succession of the queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth. And they chiefly thought of Cardinal Pole, and fancied much his fitness to be promoted to the imperial crown of this realm, being of the blood royal; and, besides him, several others they had in their minds, probably of royal blood too, that might serve their ends, and keep up their religion. As seemed to appear by this passage: when Queen Mary was sick, one Date, a promoter, used these words to the wife of one Living, a prisoner before mentioned; "You hope, and you hope; but your hope shall be aslope. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it. For there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more between her and it."

In her sickness she carried herself very devoutly; and taking this fatherly chastisement patiently, she surrendered herself to God, and prepared herself for death, after the manner of the popish superstition, wherein she had been bred. For she devoutly called for, and partook of the sacraments of the church. After she had received her supposed Saviour, the wafer, the extreme unction was administered to her; and she repeated the Psalms of the office without book, as the priest read them. When the strength of her body was quite wasted, and the use of her tongue failed her, yet in mass-time, when the sacrament was to be elevated, she lifted up her eyes to-



wards it : and at the pronouncing of the benediction, she bowed her head, and soon after yielded up her spirit. 1558.

The sickly queen held out to the month of November, when, on the 17th day thereof, she ended her life, to the great joy of the poor professors of the purer religion ; who had been sufficiently harassed by some of her zealots, that shed abundance of innocent blood, and set a stain upon the Marian days, which will never be wiped off. The queen dies.

If we would therefore have some fair character and praise of Queen Mary, we must not expect it from protestants, to whom she was very severe ; but the papists are not sparing herein. He that made her funeral sermon, on the 13th of December (when her funeral obsequies were celebrated in Westminster, with great solemnity) saith : “ That the world was not worthy of her, and that she was too good to tarry any longer here. A vertuous and a gracious lady, an innocent and unspotted queen. And he did verily think, without prejudice to God’s judgment, that then she was in heaven, and there offered up a sacrifice for them. That she feared God as much as the poorest creature. That she married herself unto her realm ; and, in token of faith and fidelity, put a diamond ring upon her finger, which was never put off after, during her life. That she was never unmindful of her care for the nation : that she used singular mercy towards offenders, and much pity and compassion towards the poor and oppressed : clemency among her nobles. That she restored more noble houses decayed, than ever did any single prince of the realm (namely of such as had been arraigned or executed upon the quarrel of the pope and the supremacy, in the reign of King Henry VIII.) That she found the realm poisoned with heresy, and she purged it ; restored to the churches the antient ornaments that had been taken away and spoiled. And that she, who was a member of Christ’s catholic church, refused to write herself *head* thereof ; The character and praise of Q. Mary.

1558. and was herself able, by learning, to render a cause why; no prince having for 1500 years usurped that title (as had King Henry her father). That she argued it from scripture thus: that a woman is forbid to speak in the church, but the head of the church must preach in the church; and he must offer sacrifice for the sins of the dead: but it was not read, she said, either in the Old or New Testament, that ever woman did sacrifice. That there was never prince on earth that had more either of learning or vertue. She was praised, lastly, for her well taking her sickness, and disposing herself against death; committing herself to God, and the realm to his Providence (not to her sister)." All this and the like may be read in the sermon preached at her funeral; which I have transcribed from a manuscript into the Catalogue.

No.  
LXXXI.  
The  
preacher  
of her fu-  
neral ser-  
mon con-  
fined.

The preacher was White, Bishop of Winchester. Against many passages in whose sermon (wherein as he did over extol the deceased queen, he too much depreciated her present majesty) such offence was taken, that he was commanded to keep his house; and there he was confined till January 19; when being called before the lords of the council, after a good admonition given him (I use the words of the minutes of the Council Book) he was set at liberty, and discharged of the said commandment of keeping his house.

- Her burial. She was buried with a pomp suitable to her princely quality, by special order of the queen her sister, and her council, to the Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer; to whom, within a day or two after her death, were sent from Hatfield (where the queen as yet was) the names of such persons as should be mourners at the interment; and orders withal were given him to take care of the funerals. In answer to which, he wrote to the council what his judgment was of these mourners, and feared that some of them would not care to be present; and moreover requested a warrant of 3000*l.* for defraying the charges. To

which the lords, November 21, gave this return, that if he should need commandment from the queen to such of them as should refuse, it should be procured. And for the 3000*l.* the lords would consider that matter at their coming to London; which was not above two or three days after. 1558.

When the day was come, after this manner were her funerals performed: Her corpse was brought from St. James's, where she died, in a charet, with a picture or image resembling her person, adorned with crimson velvet, her crown on her head, and her sceptre in her hand, and many good rings on her fingers; and so up the high-way went the foremost standard, with the falcon and the hart. Then came a great company of mourners; and after, another goodly standard of the lion and the falcon, followed by King Philip her husband's servants, two and two together, in black gowns; heralds riding to and fro, to see all go in order. After came the third standard, with the white greyhound and the falcon. Then came gentlemen in gowns, mourners. Then came riding esquires, bearing banners of arms. Next came the Lord Marquis of Winchester on horseback, bearing the banner of the arms of England, embroidered with gold. Then Mr. Chester, the herald, bearing the helm, and the crest and mantels. Then Mr. Norroy, bearing the target, with the garter and the crown. Then Mr. Clarentieux, bearing the sword; and after Mr. Garter, bearing her coat armour. All on horseback. Banners were borne about her by lords and knights, with four heralds on horseback, bearing four white banners of saints, wrought with fine gold, viz. Mr. Somerset, Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Windsor, and Mr. York. Then came the corpse, with her picture lying over her, covered with cloth of gold; the cross silver. Then followed Mr. —, with the chief mourners; and then ladies, riding, all in black, trailed to the ground. In the charet wherein the queen lay, rode the pages of honour, with banners in their hands. Afore the corpse her chapel,

The manner of her funeral.

p. 467.

1558. and after all the monks, and after them the bishops in order. And all in this equipage passed by Charing-Cross to Westminster Abbey, where, at the great door of the church, every body alighted off their horses. Then were gentlemen ready to take the queen out of her charet; and so earls and lords went before her towards the herse, with her picture borne between men of worship. At the church-door met her four bishops and the abbot, mitred, in copes, censuring the body; and so she lay all night under the herse with watch. *Item*, There were an hundred poor men in good black gowns, bearing long torches, with hoods on their heads, and arms on them; and about her the guard, bearing staff-torches, in black coats. And all the wax-chandlers, having torches, to supply them that had their torches burnt out.

On the next day, viz. December 14, was the queen's mass; and all the lords and ladies, knights and gentlemen, did offer. And there was a man of arms and horse offered, and her coat armour, helmet, sword and target, and banner of arms, and three standards; all the heralds standing about her. The Bishop of Winchester made her funeral sermon. There was offered also cloth of gold and velvet, whole pieces, and other things. After the mass and all was done, her grace was carried up to the chapel that King Henry VII. builded, with bishops mitred. And all the officers went to the grave. And after they brake their staves, and cast them into the grave on her. In the mean time the people plucked down the cloth, every man a piece that could catch it, round about the church, and the arms too. The queen being buried, the Archbishop of York came and declared a collation, and, as soon as he had made an end, all the trumpets blew a blast. And then the chief mourners, the lords and knights, the bishops and the abbot, went into the abbey to dinner, and all the officers of the queen's court.

News of  
her death  
sent to  
K. Philip.

The news of the queen's death was brought to King Philip, her husband, by the Lord Cobham, sent to



him in embassy, November 23, by Queen Elizabeth, now newly come to the crown. Which ambassador had instructions also, to desire of the said king the renewing of such treaties and leagues as had passed before between the two crowns of Spain and England. The same commission Queen Elizabeth repeated, by other succeeding ambassadors, viz. Sir Thomas Chaloner and Sir Thomas Chamberlain, successively ambassadors resident in the Low Countries. And though all these had divers times made overtures thereof both unto the king and certain principal persons about him, he still declined it by this specious pretence, that former treaties did stand in as good force to all intents, as new ratifications could make them. A strange answer at that time, but conformable to his proceedings afterwards.

Cardinal Pole died the same day that Queen Mary did, and not many hours after. His last will may be seen in Hollingshed's History. Therein he desired his successor would not sue his executors for dilapidations, seeing he had bestowed more than a thousand pounds within these few years in repairing and making such houses as belonged to the see, since he came to it. The overseers of his will were, Nicholas Archbishop of York, lord chancellor; Thomas Bishop of Ely; Edward Lord Hastings, lord chamberlain; Sir John Boxal, the queen's secretary; Sir Edward Cordal, master of the rolls; Henry Cole, vicar-general of the spiritualties.

There seemed to have crept about a secret report among papists, abroad soon after, that both Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole came to their ends by poison. And Osorius, a Portugal bishop, in a book of his writ against our country (by way of address to Queen Elizabeth) confidently avers that Queen Mary was destroyed by poison; and putteth it to Dr. Had-  
Whether the queen and cardinal were poisoned.

1558.  
Ans. Apo-  
logetical  
against  
Osor. fol.  
28.

They died  
of an in-  
fectious  
fever.

“ But (said Haddon, a knowing man) that this was so far from truth, that none ever believed, or so much as reported this but himself: and that all the English nation, and all other strangers that were then in England, would manifestly reprove and condemn this his malicious and shameless impudency. And that, in truth, they both died of an infectious *fever*, that the nation then laboured under, and seized upon many persons of quality and honour. For there raged at that time a certain outrageous burning *fever*, which infected all the estates in the realm, and, among the rest, shortened the lives of the richest and most honourable personages. At what time, Queen Mary, in many things most commendable, after a few months, died of the same disease: in like manner Cardinal Pole, an excellent learned man, being sick of a *quartan*, departed this world the same time. He added, that as to this report, or rather invention of Osorius (who appealed to Haddon, whether himself understood nothing of a conspiracy to take away the queen’s life) he protested that there was never any such matter spoken, written, feigned or surmised, unless by some such as himself, which having nothing else to snarle at, did bark and howle at the clouds, moon and stars, — and that they were flying vapours and drouzy dreams, imagined by Osorius, whereof neither he (Haddon) or any man else ever heard, or could hear one word.”

She was  
well dis-  
posed to  
religion.

The queen was learned, and well disposed to religion, had she not been so misguided by her *pontifical* clergy. She seemed to be devout and addicted to prayer. I have seen a prayer used by her, when she was Lady Mary, against the assaults of vice. At the end of which prayer she wrote these words: “ Good Francis (meaning, I suppose, her chaplain, Dr. Francis Mallet) pray that I may have grace to obtain the petitions contained in this prayer before written; your assured loving mistress during my life, MARIE.” There is also a meditation touching adversity, made by her in the year 1549; which, I

believe, was occasioned by her sickness that year. At the end of which she hath these words, written to one whom she styled Cousin, and to whom she seemed to send it: "Good Cosin Capel, I pray you, as often as you be disposed to read this former writing, to remember me, and to pray for me, your loving friend, MARIE." In the same book is another prayer, proper to be read at the hour of death; which also might belong to the said queen's devotions. These three prayers being very devout, and for the sake of the royal person that used them, I have put into the Catalogue.

1358.

p. 469.

No.  
LXXXII.  
LXXXIII.  
LXXXIV.

She left the nation in a poor mean condition, sunk in their spirits with persecution, and the sense of their shame in the loss of Calais; London, her royal chamber, impoverished, poorer by much than it was at her accession to the crown. This is set out notably by the learned Sir Thomas Smith, in an oration by him penned, upon this argument: "Whether it be best for the queen (Elizabeth) to marry a nobleman within her own kingdom, or some foreign prince." Wherein he hath these words: "What decay came that time (viz. of Queen Mary's reign) to the substance of the realm, and riches, both public and private, it would be no less pity than needless to tell you. For, first, what debts the realm was left in to be paid beyond seas, you heard it declared by Mr. Secretary, in the first parliament of the queen's majesty (viz. Queen Elizabeth) and how much it did exceed the debts of King Edward VI. What was owing also to her subjects within the realm. It was marvellous to hear how the private substance was diminished; part might be seen by the Subsidy Books. In the last parliament of King Philip and Queen Mary, you heard a burgess of London make declaration, and prove, that the city of London alone was worse in substance in those five years (of Queen Mary) by 300,000*l.* than it was at the death of the late King Edward."

The land  
impove-  
rished un-  
der Queen  
Mary;

The nation was quite dispirited, partly with the

1558.  
And the  
people dis-  
spirited.

manner of government, partly with a raging sickness, that reigned towards the latter end of this queen, and partly with the bloody doings and executions of poor people. To this purpose, the same writer: "I was, I assure you, ashamed both of my country and countrymen. They went to muster with kerchiefs on their heads (by reason of their sickness), to the wars (in France) hanging down their looks; they came from thence as men dismayed and forelorn. They went about their matters as men amazed, that knew not where to begin or end; and what marvel was it, when here was nothing but fumeing, heading, hanging, quartering and burning, taxing, levying, and pulling down of bulwarks at home, and beggering and losing of strong-holds abroad. A few private men in white rochets ruled all; who, with setting up of six-foot roods, and rebuilding of rood-lofts, thought to make all cocksure."

The cause  
of the evils  
in this  
reign.

p. 470.

And the reasons of all the evils of this queen's reign were, by the wisest men then, attributed chiefly to two things: viz. her marriage, and her great and manifold executions of her subjects. So doth the afore alleged Sir Thomas Smith bring in one Agamus, making an oration for the single life of princesses; who hath these words: "We do not read of many, who being sole inheritors and princesses of any country, which after took unto them husbands, who had success after. Even in our days, Queen Mary took King Philip to her husband, a noble prince, was discreet and fortunate; and yet many think that she lost thereby the hearts of the most number of her subjects. And it is too manifest, that immediately upon it, in a very short space, an incredible number of her subjects were, by order of such laws and justice as was used in those days, most cruelly put to death. And God, for his part, whether offended that she living solely, and as me bethought, a virgin, did suddenly chuse to marry, or rather, that she finding the light of the gospel abroad in her realm, did what she could to extinguish and put it out; did so punish the



realm with quartan agues, and other such long and new sicknesses, that, in the two last years of her reign, so many of her subjects were made away, what with the executions of the sword and fire, and what by sickness, that the third part of the men in England was consumed." 1538.

And it was little to the credit of this independent kingdom, but not a little to the prejudice of it, that all Queen Mary's counsels were seen unto, and influenced by Spaniards that belonged to King Philip; and nothing done almost but by their direction. And a prince abroad, and that had distinct interests of his own, over-ruled all the councils at home. Which occasioned Queen Elizabeth, upon her first access to the crown, to make this order (as I find in a diary of Sir W. Cecil): "That where, in the time of the late queen, the King of Spain then being husband to the said queen, nothing was done on the part of England, but with the privity and directions of the said king's ministers: now the queen's majesty being, and professing herself a free princess, to direct all her actions by her own ministers, and with the advice of her council of England only; meaneth in this matter to proceed and direct, without a participation toward the Spaniard of any thing, otherwise than shall be for the nature of her matters expedient."

The nation governed by Spaniards.

Cott. Libr. Titus, C. 10.

But, notwithstanding those merciless executions for religion, it is not to be passed over without remark, that there was a congregation of godly men at London, in the very mouth of danger, who met together for religious worship all the queen's reign, from the beginning to the very end of it. Their ministers were these, among others: Edmund Scamler, afterward Bishop of Peterborough; Tho. Foule; Augustin Bernher, sometime Latimer's servant; Tho. Bentham, afterward Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; Tho. Rose, who endured much in those times, but escaped; John Rough, a Scotchman, that was taken and burnt. A deacon of this congregation latewardly, who had a list of their names, was Cutbert Simpson,

Gospellers meet together in London, all Q. Mary's reign.

Their ministers.

1358. who was also taken and burnt; and who endured great tortures, because he would not produce his list, nor discover the names of the brethren. Upon any cases of difficulty, or emergencies, this congregation sent some of their members beyond sea, to some of the learned exiles there, for their resolution, counsel and advice; and so they returned again to the flock. And some they had whom they sent to the prisons, to visit, counsel, comfort and relieve, those that lay there for religion: of these, the names of two were
- p. 471. Coles and Ledley, who were, about the year 1557, detected by one Ty, a priest to Bishop Bonner; as were a great many more by false brethren.

Account  
of their  
meetings.

Their meetings were at several places, as it was appointed by themselves: for they often changed their places for more privacy and security. Sometimes it was at Black Friars, at Sir Tho. Cardine's house, who was of the privy chamber to King Henry VIII.; again, sometimes the meeting was somewhere about Aldgate; sometimes in a cloth-worker's loft, near the Great Conduit, in Cheapside. Once or twice in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a good man of Lee, in Essex; other times at a ship called Jesus Ship, lying between Ratcliff and Rotherith: there twice or thrice, till it came to be known. Other times in a cooper's house, in Pudden-lane; sometimes in Thames-street, sometimes in Bow Church-yard, and sometimes in Islington, or in the fields thereabouts. These meetings were often in the night times. There would be in these assemblies forty, and sometimes an hundred, or more, met together; and toward the latter end of the queen, the number increased, though the malice of their enemies decreased not. At these meetings they had collections for Christ's prisoners, and would gather sometimes ten pounds at a night-meeting. But they could not be so private, but that now and then they were discovered and taken. To some of these secret assemblies resorted such as were spies, who were sent to serve as informers and witnesses. Such an one once

came to take their names, and spy their doings; but while he was among them he cried them pardon, and was converted to become one of them. 1553.

And as in the South parts, so likewise in the North, there were divers that professed the gospel, and had their preachers and pastors. As George Marsh, who suffered burning at Chester. In Yorkshire was Mr. Best, who was after Bishop of Carlisle; Mr. Brodbank, Mr. Reneses, Mr. Russel. And these privately went from place to place, in Lancashire, and in those Northern parts bordering, and preached the gospel to select companies, assembled by assignation, and sometimes gave the communion. One Jeffry Hurst, of Shakerly, in Lancashire, but fled from thence, being known to be a professor of the gospel, and being sought for, and dwelt privately in Yorkshire, and thereabouts, such was his love to his friends and country, that he would sometimes bring some of these ministers to Shakerly. In the bishoprick of Durham was Bernard Gilpin (afterwards commonly called Father Gilpin) placed at the rectory of Essington by Bishop Tunstal, his great uncle. This man, though he made a shift to comply with the church at that time, yet he preached the word of God honestly and sincerely, and sharply taxed the vices that then reigned in it, and propounded the doctrine of salvation plainly and soundly; and the clergy's faults he touched to the quick. He believed not transubstantiation, and justification he explained after the manner of the reformers: so that had he not had the Bishop of Durham to his friend and relation, he might have undergone great danger: for some accused him to the bishop as a man that deserved burning. But hereby the seeds of true religion were sown in those parts; and which tended more to the spreading of religion through those Northern quarters. He was after removed to Houghton, a parish containing fourteen villages; where he persevered constantly in the duty of his ministry. And such was his pity of many parishes in North-

Professors  
in the  
north  
parts.

Bernard  
Gilpin.  
See his  
Life, writ  
by Bishop  
Carleton.

p. 472.

1558. umberland, through impropriations destitute of ministers, in the parts called Reddesdale and Tyndale, (among the inhabitants of which the word of God was never heard to be preached, and the most they had was an ignorant priest hired by the impropiator to read the mass) that hither, out of zeal to God's glory, and compassion to the souls of the people, he resorted once a year to preach, teach, and instruct them; and so continued to do in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The protestants speak plainly of this queen. Hale's Oration.

That five years' reign consisted of abundance of violences, oppressions, injustices and slaughters; insomuch that they who felt it and out-lived it, made hideous descriptions of it. Her they called Jezebel, Athaliah, and unnatural woman. "No, no woman (saith one of them) but a monster, and the devil of hell, covered over with the shape of a woman." The injustices and cruelties exercised by her authority, wrung from them expressions too unseemly to be given to a crowned head. They were the more offended with her, because it was, in a great measure, by the means of their party, that she arrived to the crown. For they were the great instruments of setting her in her throne, and expected to have some better usage for their pains. And so all their love to her turned into hatred. And black are the representations that some of these men made of her government. As, "That they could not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritances, but whatsoever they had was, either by open force or crafty dealing, pulled from them. They were more ungentle than common thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only contented to have the goods of the people, but they would have them delivered to them by the owners' own hands, that it might be said to the world, they gave it with the heart. Nor were they herewith pleased, but would have their lives, that they should not bewray them. And yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Englishmen,

*Ubi supra.*



that none should be left to revenge or cry out of their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spanish dominion. One brother killed another, children laid violent hands on their parents, children were murdered in the sight of their parents, and parents in the sight of their children. Nay further, these unnatural English tormentors and tyrants would be gods, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word, openly abhor Christ in deed, slander his gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false gods, as they would have them, and as themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil, or secretly fly, or, after unheard torments, to be burnt openly. They compared this persecution to that of Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, &c. nay, exceeding it." 1558.

Another that lived in and after these evil days, wrote thus: "For refusing that most unlawful and wicked oath of the pope's supremacy, and not acknowledging of his usurped authority, a great number both of learned and unlearned, as well of the laity as of the clergy, of women as men, of young as old, have lost not only their livings and all their goods, but also as many of them as escaped not out of their country, into miserable exile, were apprehended and cast into most vile prisons; being not set, but hanged, in stocks and irons, both feet, hands and neck; and after long punishments and pining, most painful and pitiful also to all, saving only pitiless papists, have finally lost their lives, being most cruelly consumed, by terrible flames of fire, into ashes; if they might obtain so much mercy, as to escape that usual long, lingring and roasting in smoak, and smoaky fire."

Very many there were that fell under the severities of this reign, for their religion only: but the exact number, I perceive, is not known, because of the variety I observe among the historians, that pretend to set down how many: as for example, one historian thus: Imprisonment, torture, burning exercised. Noel's Re-proof, p. 12. p. 473.

Anno 1555. "Burnt in sundry places and times, eighty: besides those that died in prison. Of which The numbers that suffered under Queen Mary. Cooper.

1558. some were cast into the fields unburied, and some buried in the courts and backsides of the prisons where they died."

86. Anno 1556. "Burnt eighty-six; whereof many were women and maidens."

67. Anno 1557. "Burnt sixty-seven; of which about twenty were women."

Anno 1558. The number not mentioned, only it is expressed to be a great many in divers places.

Vol. II.  
p. 364.

According to Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, the numbers consumed by fire under those years stood thus:

|           |         |     |
|-----------|---------|-----|
| Anno 1555 | } Burnt | 72. |
| Anno 1556 |         | 94. |
| Anno 1557 |         | 79. |
| Anno 1558 |         | 39. |

In all 284

Weaver's  
Mon.  
p. 116.

Speed, the historian, recounts the numbers in this method, as it was transcribed by Weaver in his Monuments: "In the heat of whose flames were burnt to ashes five bishops, one-and-twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, an hundred husband-men, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants; one of them whipped to death by Bonner, and the other springing out of the mother's womb from the stake as she burned, thrown again into the fire. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their profession of faith; whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison: twelve buried in dunghills. Many lay in captivity condemned, but were released and saved by the auspicious entrance of peaceable Elizabeth, and fled the land in those days of distress, which by her, upon their return, were honourably preferred." So that, according to this calculation, the number of those that were burnt amounted to 277.

p. 474.

And no wonder need be made at this variety, con-

sidering how the accounts of the numbers of the burned were gathered up by divers men, and the intelligences they received thereof from their friends, throughout all the parts of the nation; which were more or less perfect according to the informations they could come by.

1558.  
The reason  
of the va-  
riety of  
historians  
herein.

But we may best depend upon the account given us by the Lord Burghley, in his treatise, called, *Execution of Justice in England*; writ in the year 1583; who there reckoneth the number together of those that died in that reign by imprisonment, tortments, famine and fire, to be near 400. And among that lord's MSS. I find a paper, making the burned to amount to the number of 290; which setting down the particulars, may deserve place in the Catalogue.

Those that  
suffered  
under Q.  
Mary, and  
those that  
suffered  
under Q.  
Elizabeth  
compared.

No.  
LXXXV.

The papists have studiously laboured to lessen the charge of blood, that the protestants lay to this unhappy Queen Mary, and think to stifle it by aggrandizing the sufferings of their own party under her sister, Queen Elizabeth; hoping to make the world believe, that even those that were put to death for treason were martyrs for religion; crying out loud of the great numbers that have been executed under that queen. To lay therefore this matter plainly open, before every impartial man, that he may make a true comparison between those that were burnt and made away with under Queen Mary, and those that died under Queen Elizabeth, I shall recite the words of the great noble author before-mentioned, who had opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted with the matters of those times, and lived in the middle of them; and who was withal an observing and honest man. He writes thus:

“To make the matter seem more horrible or lamentable, they (who had writ infamous libels against the queen) recite the particular names of all the persons (that were put to death) which by their own Catalogue exceed, not for these twenty-five years space, above the number of threescore; forgetting, or rather with their stony and senseless hearts, not

Execution  
of Just.  
p. 22.  
23 edit.  
1675.

1558. regarding in what cruel sort in the time of Queen Mary, which little exceeded the space of five years, the queen's majesty's reign being five times as many, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine and fire, of men, women, maidens and children, almost the number of four hundred. And of that number, above twenty that had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates or officers in the church lamentably destroyed, and of women above threescore, and of children above forty, and amongst the women some great with child, out of whose bodies the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burnt: examples beyond all heathen cruelty. And most of the youth of them suffered cruel death, both men, women and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had never by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, nor were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but only of that which by their blood and death, in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify. A matter of another sort to be lamented with simplicity of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a very few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirty years of age, had in their baptism professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion, which they now so bitterly oppugned. And beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queen Mary's time. For though they continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, yet they never, at their death, denied their lawful queen, nor maintained any of her open and foreign enemies, nor procured any rebellion or civil war, nor did sow any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew any subjects from their obedience, as these sworn servants of the pope have continually done."

A passage  
of Arch-  
bishop  
Bramhall  
concerning  
the cruel-

To which I will add the vindication of our nation, which a later worthy author made to the same clamour, raised by papists against the severities used towards the Roman catholics in this kingdom. "He



might have considered (saith he) that more protestants suffered death in the short reign of Queen Mary, men, women and children, than Roman catholics in all the longer reigns of all our princes, since the reformation, put together. The former by fire and faggot, a cruel lingring torment, *Ut sentirent se mori, that they might feel themselves to die* by degrees; the other by the gibbet, with some opprobrious circumstances, to render their sufferings the more exemplary to others. The former merely and immediately for religion, because they would not be Roman catholics, without any the least pretext of the violation of any political law: the latter not merely and immediately for religion, because they were Roman catholics; for many known Roman catholics in England have lived and died in greater plenty, and power, and reputation, in every prince's reign since the reformation, than an English protestant could live among the Irish Roman catholics, since their insurrection. If a subject was taken at mass itself in England, which was very rare, it was but a pecuniary mulct. No stranger was ever questioned about his religion. I may not here omit King James's affirmation, 'That no man in his reign, nor in the reign of his predecessor Queen Elizabeth, did suffer death for conscience sake, or religion.' But they suffered for the violation of civil laws, as, either for not acknowledging the political supremacy of the king in ecclesiastical causes over ecclesiastical persons; or else for returning into this kingdom so qualified with forbidden orders, as the laws of the land do not allow: or, lastly, for attempting to seduce some of the king's subjects from the religion established in the land."

But to make some few reflections more upon the professors and sufferers in Queen Mary's reign, which are not mine, but made by one who lived in the middle of those evils, and narrowly escaped himself. "The faithful Lord in all these turmoilings preserved his servants, giving unto a number of them such a princely spirit, that they were able to deride

1553.  
ties under  
Q. Mary.  
Just Vin-  
dica. c. 3.

The constancy of the professors, Aug. Bernher, Pref. to Lat. Sermons. p. 476.

1558. and laugh to scorn the threatnings of the tyrants, to dispise the terribleness of prisons and torments, and in the end most joyfully to overcome and conquer death, to the praise of God, and their own endless comfort. Unto other some the self-same most gracious God gave such a valiant spirit, that they were able, by his grace, to forsake the pleasures and commodities of this world, and being armed with patience, were content to travel into far and unknown countries with their families and households, having small worldly provision or none at all, but trusting to his providence, who never faileth them that trust in him. Besides this, the same God preserved a great number even in the midst of their enemies, not only from bodily dangers, but also from being infected with that poisoned and blasphemous doctrine, that then in all pulpits, with shameless brags and ostentation, was set abroad. I will not speak now of that wonderful work of God, who caused his word to be preached, and his sacraments ministred, even in the midst of the enemies, in spight of the devil and his ministers."

The evils  
of this  
reign.

Defence of  
Priests,  
Mar. Pref.  
fol. S.

Rains,  
tempest,  
drought,  
famine, fe-  
vers. Coop.  
Chron.

In short, it was a sad and uncomfortable reign to this nation; and those that lived in it, and out-lived it, were best able to describe it. One, a wise and observing man, thought to be Archbishop Parker, in his preface to a book writ by another, in *Defence of Priests' Marriage*, speaks of the miseries of this time; and calls them "The plagues that Almighty God revenged the contempt of his holy institution in the aforesaid reign, and that it was not like the notability thereof would be forgotten to be transmitted to their posterity in writing." And he proceedeth to enumerate the evils of this reign. "What immoderate rains and tempests raged in one year? "What intolerable heat and droughts in another year? What penury and scarceness of corn and victuals? What hunger and famine thereof followed?" Add, what diseases and sicknesses every where prevailed? the like whereof had never been known

before, both for the lasting and mortality of them: which being hot burning *fevers*, and other strange diseases, began in the great dearth, 1556; and increased more and more the two following years. In the summer, 1557, they raged horribly throughout the realm, and killed an exceeding great number of all sorts of men, but especially gentlemen, and men of great wealth. So many husbandmen and labourers also died, and were sick, that in harvest time, in divers places, men would have given one acre of corn to reap and carry in another. In some places corn stood and shed on the ground for lack of workmen. In the latter end of the year, *quartan agues* were so common among men, women, and young children also, that few houses escaped. And these *agues* were not only common, but to most persons very dangerous; especially such as had been sick of the burning *fevers* before. In 1558, in the summer, about August, the same *fevers* raged again in such manner, as never *plague* or *pestilence*, I think (saith my author) killed a greater number. If the people of the realm had been divided into four parts, certainly three parts of those four should have been found sick. And hereby so great a scarcity of harvestmen, that those which remained took twelve-pence for that which was wont to be done for three-pence. In some shires no gentleman almost escaped, but either himself or his wife, or both, were dangerously sick, and very many died: so that divers places were left void of antient justices, and men of worship to govern the country: many that kept twenty or thirty in their houses, had not three or four able to help the residue that were sick. In most poor men's houses, the master, dame, and servants, were all sick, in such sort, that one could not help another. The winter following also, the *quartan agues* continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done last year. At this time also died many priests, that a great number of parish churches in divers places of the realm were unserved, and no curats

1558.

p. 477.

1558. could be gotten for money: all which, and a great many miseries more now lying upon the nation, and the loss of Calais not the least, looked like the frowns of God upon the queen and her government. And in the midst of these calamities she expired. And she that wrote herself, by her marriage, queen of so many kingdoms, dutchess of so many dukedoms, and marchioness of so many marquises, left less riches in her coffers, and wealth in the realm, at the time of her death, than any of her progenitors did.

Want of  
clergymen.

This destruction of the ministers of the gospel, partly by burning and execution, and partly by exile, and discouragement of the study of divinity, had this inconvenience, that in the next reign there was great want of clergy to supply the churches of the kingdom, and to perform divine service, according to the reformation of religion established. For the remedy whereof, many lay-men and such as had followed secular callings, were ordained ministers: namely, such as could read well, and were pious and of sober conversation, to serve in some of the parish churches for the present necessity. This was thrown by papists in the teeth of the reformers, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. Droman, one of these in these times, thus in foul terms describes it: And, first, concerning Nowel, Dean of Paul's, that had been master of Westminster School in King Edward's days, and fled abroad under the persecution, "That so soon upon his returning home, of a mean school-master, because so valiant a preacher; unless perhaps the same spirit, that hath of late divines in their shops, and disputing upon the ale-bench for their degrees (so many tinkers, cobblers, cow-herds, broom-men, fidlers, and such like) have also made him a preacher among the rest."

Artificers  
made mi-  
nisters.  
Drom. re-  
proof.

To which slander, Nowel gave this sober answer (which will acquaint us with the true state of this matter, and sufficiently throw the reproach upon the priests of those days): "None such reputed or



counted *divines* among us, as you lyingly slander us. 1558.  
 Indeed, your most cruel murthering of so many  
 learned men, hath forced us, of mecr necessity, to  
 supply some small cures with honest artificers, exer-  
 cised in the scriptures; not in place of divines, bat-  
 chelors or doctors, but instead of popish Sir John  
 Lack-Latins, and of all honesty; instead of Dr.  
 Dicer, Batchelor Bench-whistler, Master Card-  
 player, the usual sciences of your popish priests;  
 who continually disputed *pro et contra* for their  
 form upon their ale-bench; where you should not  
 miss of them in all towns and villages: instead of  
 such chaplains of trust, more meet to be tinkers,  
 cow-herds, yea, bear-wards and swine-herds, than  
 ministers in Christ's church. That some honest  
 artificers, who, instead of such popish books as dice  
 and cards, have travailed in the scriptures."

The reason  
 thereof.  
 Noel's Con-  
 futat.

p. 478.

## CHAP. LXV.

Creations under this queen. Her privy counsellors. Licenses of  
 retainer. To whom granted.

THOSE that were innobled by this qucen, or re-  
 stored to their antient honours, were these:

Edward Courtney, son to Henry Courtney, Mar-  
 quis of Exeter, was restored, and created Earl of  
 Devonshire, at Richinond, September the 3d, in the  
 first year of the queen, and died at Padua, in Italy,  
 without issue, being the last of this noble and antient  
 family.

Thomas Percie, son of Sir Thomas Percie, Knt.  
 was restored, and advanced to the degree of a baron,  
 April 30, the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, and  
 the day following to the earldom of Northumberland.  
 He was made general warden of the East and Middle  
 Marches, 10 Elizabeth. After attainted, and suffer-  
 ed death at York for treason, in the twelfth of the  
 said queen.

Creationsof  
 noblemen.  
 E. MSS.  
 Rev. Patr.  
 Johan. D.  
 Epis. Elien.

1558.

Anthony Browne, created Viscount Mountague, 2d September, 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary, and made Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. He was the son of Sir Anthony Browne, and of Lady Lucie his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of John Nevyl, Marquis of Mountague.

William Howard, third son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, was created Lord Howard of Effingham, March 11, 1 Mar. and March 20, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland and Wales, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter; had issue by his first wife, a daughter named Agnes; by his second, Charles and other sons.

Sir Edward North, Knt. Baron of Carteleigh, by summons to parliament 1st Mariæ. He was father to Roger, Lord North; and took his place in parliament, April 7.

Sir John Williams, Knt. created Lord Williams of Thame, April 5, at St. James's: and upon the queen's marriage, was made lord chamberlain to King Philip. He had issue, two daughters and heirs: one married to Henry Lord Norris, and the other to Sir Richard Wenman, Knt.

Sir John a Bruges, Knt. was, April 8, 1 Mariæ, created Baron Chandois of Sudeley; and died the same year; whose son was Edmond Lord Chandois, succeeding his father in this honour. In the first of the queen, he was made lieutenant of the Tower.

p. 479.

Sir Edward Hastings, Knt. third son to George Earl of Huntington, became Lord Hastings of Loughborough, by summons to parliament, the 4th and 5th Philip and Mary. He was lord chamberlain to Queen Mary, and Knight of the noble order of the Garter; having been made, in the first of the queen; a privy counsellor, master of her horse, and receiver of the honor of Leicester; died without issue.

The  
queen's  
council.

The queen's counsellors towards the latter end of her reign were these that follow: whereof those that have asterisks were laid aside the next reign, as I took them out of a Journal of the Lord Burleigh's,

the rest continued privy counsellors to Queen Elizabeth, viz. 1558.

- \* Reginald, Cardinal Pole.
- \* Nicolas, Archbishop of York, lord chancellor.  
Powlet, Marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer.  
Fitz Allen, Earl of Arundel.  
Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
- \* Henry, Earl of Bath.  
Stanley, Earl of Darby,  
Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.  
Edward Lord Clinton, lord admiral.  
Lord Howard, of Effingham.
- \* Brown, Viscount Mountague.
- \* Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.
- \* William Lord Paget.
- \* ——— Lord Wentworth.
- \* Richard Lord Ryche.
- \* Edward Lord Hastings, of Loughborough.
- \* Sir Thomas Cornwallleys.
- \* Sir Francis Englefield.
- \* Sir Edward Waldgrave.
- \* Sir John Mordaunt.  
Sir Thomas Cheyney.  
Sir William Petre.  
Sir John Mason.  
Sir Richard Sackvil.
- \* Sir Thomas Wharton.
- \* Sir John Bourn.  
Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.
- \* Dr. Boxal.
- \* Sir Henry Jernegan.
- \* Sir Henry Beddingfield.
- \* Sir Edward Peckham.
- \* Sir Robert Peckham.
- \* Sir William Cordell.
- \* Sir Clement Higham.
- \* Sir Richard Southwel.

It was a fault in this reign, that so many retainers Licenses  
to retain.

1558. were granted: for Queen Mary granted more by half in her short five years, than her sister and successor in thirteen: for in all that time there were but fifteen licenses of retainer granted; whereas Queen Mary had granted nine-and-thirty. She was more liberal also in yielding the number of retainers to each person, which sometimes amounted to 200. Whereas Queen Elizabeth never yielded above an hundred to any person of the greatest quality, and that rarely too; but Bishop Gardiner began that ill example, who retained two hundred men: whereas under Queen Elizabeth, the duke of Norfolk retained but an hundred; and Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, but forty. A retainer was a servant, not menial (that is, continually dwelling in the house of his lord or master) but only wearing his livery, and attending sometimes upon special occasions upon him. The livery was wont to consist of hats or hoods, badges and other suits of one garment by the year. These licenses were given many times to lords and gentlemen on purpose for maintenance of quarrels, and many murders were committed by the means thereof, and feuds kept up among the nobility and gentry. The Catalogue of the retainers in this reign, was as followeth:

p. 480.

*Anno Primo Regni Mariæ.*

|                                                                       |                                        |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----|
| To whom<br>granted;<br>and the<br>numbers of<br>retainers to<br>each. | Stephen Bishop of Winchester . . . . . | 200 |
|                                                                       | Sir William Petre, Knt. . . . .        | 60  |
|                                                                       | Henry Earl of Arundel . . . . .        | 200 |
|                                                                       | Nicolas Bishop of Worcester . . . . .  | 10  |
|                                                                       | William Lord Paget . . . . .           | 100 |

*Annis 1st and 2d Philip and Mary.*

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| William Earl of Pembroke . . . . . | 100 |
| Sir George Herbert, Knt. . . . .   | 40  |
| Sir Henry Tirrel . . . . .         | 20  |

*Annis 2d and 3d Philip and Mary.*

|                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Sir Richard Southwel, Knt. . . . . | 40 |
|------------------------------------|----|



|                                           |     |       |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Sir Robert Southwel, Knt. . . . , . . . . | 20  | 1558. |
| Sir Edward Hastings, Kt. . . . .          | 100 |       |
| Sir Francis Englefield, Knt. . . . .      | 100 |       |
| Sir Edward Gage, Knt. . . . .             | 30  |       |
| John Wadham, Esq. . . . .                 | 10  |       |
| Edward Lord Clynton . . . . .             | 100 |       |
| Sir Nic. Hare, Knt. . . . .               | 40  |       |
| Sir Robert Brooke, Knt. . . . .           | 10  |       |
| Sir John Bourne, Knt. . . . .             | 40  |       |
| Roger Lygon . . . . .                     | 16  |       |
| Sir Henry Jerningham, Knt. . . . .        | 100 |       |
| Anthony Viscount Mountague . . . . .      | 60  |       |

## Annis 3d and 4th Philip and Mary.

|                                         |     |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| James Basset . . . . .                  | 20  |
| Nic. Archbishop of York . . . . .       | 60  |
| Sir William Cordel, Knt. . . . .        | 12  |
| Sir Thomas Wharton, Knt. . . . .        | 30  |
| Anthony Hungerford . . . . .            | 20  |
| Richard Forest . . . . .                | 40  |
| Sir Robert Rochester, Knt. . . . .      | 60  |
| Henry Earl of Westmerland . . . . , . . | 100 |
| Anth. Brown, serjeant at law . . . . .  | 20  |
| Lady Jane Dormer . . . . .              | 10  |
| Sir William Dormer, Knt. . . . .        | 30  |

## Annis 4th and 5th Philip and Mary.

|                                            |     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----|
| Sir John Tregonwell, Knt. . . . .          | 30  |
| Thomas Earl of Northumberland . . . . .    | 100 |
| Thomas Babington and William his son . . . | 30  |
| John Arundel . . . . .                     | 40  |
| Richard Manxel . . . . .                   | 50  |

## Annis 5th and 6th Philip and Mary.

|                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| John Boxal, clark . . . . . | 10 |
| Richard Wilbraham . . . . . | 10 |

## CHAP. LXVI.

The Lady Elizabeth succeeds to the CROWN. The exiles return. Good omens of her ensuing reign.

1558.  
The exiles  
return.

TO Queen Mary succeeded the excellent Princess Elizabeth, her sister ; whom God raised up to rescue this land from the ruin impending over it. The exiles now returned apace from their several towns and cities, where they were retired from the late stormy wind and tempests at home. Those at Basil had the news of their speedy return told them the day before the queen's death. It was strange, but true : for Elmer (Bishop of London afterwards) was present when John Fox preached there : where, among other arguments which he used for the consolation of the poor English, he bad them be of good comfort ; for the time drew near that they should be restored to their own country ; and said, that this he told them, *Dei monitu*, being *warned by God* so to do. He was reproved by the elder sort for thus preaching ; but the issue of things excused him. And by comparing the times, it appears that he preached this sermon but the day before the queen's death.

p. 481.  
News of  
the queen's  
death at  
Strasburgh  
and Zurich.

The news of it first came to Strasburgh ; and some gentlemen there sent messengers to Zurich, to the English there, coming thither with the tidings on the last day of November ; which was but twelve or thirteen days after the queen's death. The next day being December 1st, P. Martyr (then professor at Zurich) sent the news of it to Calvin, whereby it became known to the English at Geneva, if they had it not before. Great expectation now there was among the chief professors of religion ; but yet not without some fear ; as appeared from this clause in Martyr's letter to Calvin : " Perhaps now is the time for the walls of Jerusalem to be built again in that

P. Martyr  
to Calvin ;

kingdom; that the blood of so many martyrs so largely shed, may not be in vain. And, December 22d following, the same Peter Martyr sent a letter to Queen Elizabeth, full of good exhortations; stirring her up to reform the church; which, I suppose, he did by the secret advice of some of the protestant exiles at Zurich, as well as by his own inclination. 1558.  
And Q.  
Elizabeth.

The joys and benefits of this change of government from one sister to another, of such different minds and religions, I will declare in the eloquent words of one that had opportunity of knowing them. Joys for a  
change.

“Domi quid est, quod ad salutem vel solatium quispiam excogitare possit, quo homines non prius furi quam sperare inciperent? Qui domi profugerant, revocati, qui carceribus astricti, liberati, qui bona amiserant, donati, qui dignitate exuti, restituti. Sunt leges interim iniquæ abrogatæ, latæ salubres. Pax mentibus, conscientiæ libertas, concordia ordinibus, securitas bonis, redierat.” That is, “What was there here at home, which any could think of, tending either to safety or comfort, but the people began to enjoy, even before they could hope for? The exiles were called home, the prisoners were set at liberty, they that had lost their goods had them bestowed on them; they that were deprived of their honours, were restored. Unjust laws in the meantime were abrogated, and wholesome ones made. Peace was recovered to men’s minds, liberty to their consciences, concord to the states, and security to good men. Life of  
Fox.

The nation felt themselves quite in another condition: their hearts were filled with joy, and replenished with vigorous hopes of blessed times a coming, and their mouths with praise for their new queen. Hancock, one of the exiled clergy, hath these words: “Had not our godly, wise, learned and merciful Queen Elizabeth stood in the gap of God’s wrath, and been the instrument of God to restore the everlasting word of God unto us, we had Q. Elizabeth stood  
in the gap.  
Foxii MSS.

1558. been bond-slaves unto the proud vicious Spaniard ; and then he makes this prayer for her :

A prayer  
for her, at  
her first  
coming to  
reign.

p. 482.

“ O eternal, omnipotent, and most merciful God, who didst, by thy merciful providence, preserve our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, in the dangerous days of the reign of her majesty’s most unnatural sister, Queen Mary, to this end, that thou, a most merciful God, wouldst, by her majesty, set forth thy glory, in restoring to us again the jewel and treasure of thy most sacred and holy word : We beseech thee, O Lord, make us thankful ; preserve her majesty, that, if it be thy blessed will, we may a long time enjoy this great treasure and jewel of thy most holy word ; that her grace may, by thy mighty power, so defend and protect this her realm, from the rule and government of strange nations, that we may never be spoiled again of the same. And that it may please thee, of thy merciful goodness, so to rule and govern us, that we her subjects, with thy grace, may be diligent hearers of thy word, and obedient followers of the same : so that for our unthankfulness we provoke not thy wrath (as in the days of good King Edward) to take from us so most godly, pitiful, and peaceable a princess ; but that she may a long time rule and govern both these her realms of England and Ireland ; to the confusion of the papists, her enemies, and to the great comfort of thy children, her loving subjects. Grant this for thy dear Son Christ Jesus’ sake.”

Another  
prayer for  
her. Bp.  
Pilking-  
ton’s Ex-  
posit. upon  
Hagg.

To which I will add another pious prayer, composed for her and the church, by another exile (soon after Bishop of Durham), upon her first coming to the crown, in the name of the People of England :

“ Most righteous Judge and merciful Father, which of love didst punish thy people, being negligent in building thy house, that by such sharp correction they might be stirred up to do their duty, and so have pleased thee : We acknowledge and confess, before the world and thy divine Majesty, that we have no



less offended thee in this behalf, than they have done; and that for all the sharp plagues which thou laidst upon us, we could not awake out of our dead sleep; and, forgetting the earnest promotion of thy glory, and true religion, rather consented to the persecution of thy true and faithful people; until now, that of thine infinite goodness, by giving us a gracious queen, and restoring the light of thy word, thou hast letten us taste of the treasures of thy mercies: We fall down flat, therefore, before the throne of grace, desiring pardon for this great negligence, and of all our former offences, and pray thee, that thou wilt not deal with us as we have deserved, but, as of thine own free will thou promisedst thy people, falling earnestly to thy work, and restoring thy temple, that from thenceforward thou wouldest bless all their works and fruits, overthrow their enemies, and save thy people. That thou wouldest make that house also more glorious than the first, by the preaching of thy gospel: so we desire thee, for Christ's sake, to be no less good and gracious Lord unto us, yet once again, going about to restore thy true religion, trodden down and defaced by the cruel papists. Send forth, O Lord, many such faithful preachers, as will set out thy glory unfeignedly. Open the hearts of thy people, that they may see, how far more acceptable unto thee is the lively preaching of thy holy word, than all the glittering ceremonies of popery. Deliver us, we beseech thee, from all our enemies. Save and preserve our gracious queen as thine own signet: endue her and her council with such reverence and fear of thee, that all policy which is contrary to thy word set apart, they may uprightly seek and maintain thy true glory, minister justice, punish sin, and defend the right. Confound, most mighty God, and bring to naught, all the devices of such as go about to overthrow thy word and true worship. Open our eyes, that we may see how dearly thou hast loved us in Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Lord. Hold us fast, O Lord of Hosts, that we fall no more from thee.

1558. Grant us thankful and obedient hearts, that we may encrease daily in the love, knowledge, and fear of thee. Increase our faith, and help our unbelief; that we, being provided for, and relieved in all our needs, by thy fatherly care and providence, as thou shalt think good, may live a godly life to thy praise, and good example of thy people; and after this life, may reign with thee for ever through Christ our Saviour; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be praise and thanksgivings in all congregations for ever and ever. *Amen.*"

Good  
omens in  
Queen Eli-  
zabeth.

And it was not without ground, that the nation conceived such great hope of being happily governed under this lady, both in regard of her mild and serene beginnings; whereas the former queen's first footsteps into her government were nothing but storm and ruffle, violation of laws, terrors and threatenings, imprisonments and executions: and in regard likewise of the excellency of her nature, her genuine modesty, learning, and piety. Of both these, take what is said by one, afterward Bishop of London, but then living in the court, and so well knew her in her younger days, and at her accession to the crown:

Her mild  
entrance.  
Harbour  
for faithful  
Subjects.  
By J. El-  
mer.

"Mark her coming in," said he, "and compare it with others. She comes in like a lamb, and not like a lion; like a mother, and not like a step-dame. She rusheth not in at the first chop, to violate and break former laws; to stir her people to change what they list, before order be taken by law. She hangeth no man, she beheadeth none, she burneth none, spoileth none."

Her mo-  
dest ap-  
parel.

And this was his character of her in her younger years: "The king," said he, "left her rich cloaths and jewels; and that he knew it to be true, that in seven years after her father's death, she never in all that time looked upon that rich attire and precious jewels but once, and that against her will; and that there never came gold or stone upon her head, till her

sister forced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glittering gayness; and then she so ware it, as every man might see that her body carried that which her heart misliked. I am sure," said he, (and he that said it was about that time, at court, tutor to the Lady Jane Grey) "that her maidenly apparel, which she used in King Edward's time, made the noblemen's daughters and wives to be ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks; being more moved with her most virtuous example, than with all that ever Paul or Peter wrote touching that matter. Yea, this I know," added he, "that a great man's daughter (the Duke of Suffolk's daughter Jane, he means) receiving from Lady Mary, before she was queen, goodly apparel of tynsel, cloth of gold and velvet, laid on with parchment lace of gold, when she saw it, said, What shall I do with it? Marry, said a gentlewoman, wear it. Nay, quoth she, that were a shame to follow my Lady Mary, against God's word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth, which followeth God's word. 1558.

"And when all the ladies, at the coming of the Scots' queen (in King Edward's reign) went with their hair frowned, curled, and double curled, she altered nothing, but kept her old maidenly shamefastness. p. 484.

"She never meddled with mony, but against her will; but seemed to set so little by it, that she thought to touch it was to defile her pure hands, consecrated to turn over good books, to lift up unto God in prayer, and to deal alms to the poor. She seldom touched money.

"She was virtuously and virgin-like brought up: Her learning. honest, discreet, sober, and godly women about her; trained up in learning, and that not vulgar and common, but the purest and the best, which was most commended; as, the tongues, arts, and God's word: wherein she so exceedingly profited, as I myself can witness," saith my author, "that, seven years past, (viz. in the year 1552) she was not, in the best kinds

1558. of learning, inferior to those that all their life-time had been brought up in the universities."

Herschool-  
master's  
account of  
her.

" Her first schoolmaster (Ascham, with whom our author, viz. Mr. Elmer, was familiar) told him, that he learned every day more of her than she of him. Thus expounding it: I teach her words, and she me things; I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modesty and maidenly life teacheth me works to do. I think, said he, she is the best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe."

Two rare  
qualities  
in her.

" An Italian, which taught her his tongue (though that nation lightly praise not out of their own country), said to Elmer, He found in her two qualities, which were seldom qualities in one woman, viz. a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach."

From which premises the foresaid writer made this conclusion: " We must needs conceive good hopes, yea, in a manner be assured, that as she hath past so many of our kings, and all our queens, in these good studies and sciences, so she must needs exceed them in the rest of her life and government. And how happily true, it so fell out in her succeeding reign, all the world, especially her own kingdom, knew."

FINIS.



# APPENDIX ;

CONTAINING

RECORDS, LETTERS,

AND OTHER

Original Writings,

AND

CHOICE MONUMENTS,

FROM AUTHENTIC MSS.

REFERRED TO IN THE

MEMORIALS

UNDER THE

REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.



AN  
**APPENDIX**  
 TO THE  
**MEMORIALS ECCLESIASTICAL,**  
 UNDER THE REIGN OF  
**KING HENRY VIII.**

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**NUMBER I.**

*K. Henrie's letter to Sir David Owen, to provide an hundred men to go into France with him, in behalf of the pope against the French king.*

BY THE KING.

*Henry R.*

**T**RUSTIE & welbeloved, wee grete you wel. And wheras wee, according to our dutie to God, & to his church, at the instant requests & desires of the pope's holines, & other Christen princes, our confederates & allies, have, for the defence of the said church, being by our enemy the French Kinge, oppressed, and the extincting of the detestable schisme, raised by certain perverse cardinalls, and maintained by the same king, entred actual war against him; intending, God willing, by the aid & assistance of such of our confederates and allies, as shal joyn with us in that God's quarrel, to pursue & continue the said wars, & personally to proceed into France with an army royal this next summer, as wel for that our purpose, as for recovering our right there: wee signifie unto you, that for our better assistance in that behalf, wee have appoynted you, among others, to pass over

MSS.  
 D. G. H.  
 Eq.

## NUMBER III.

King Henry to his Ambassadors with the Prince of Castile, for satisfaction to be demanded for staying of a merchant man, put in by stress of weather to Zealand.

*To our trusty & right welbiloved counsailors & knight for our body, Sir Edward Poyngs, Comptroller of our household, and Maister William Knight, our Ambassadors with our cousin the Prince of Castile.*

BY THE KING.

*Henry R.*

MSS.  
G. H. Eq. TRUSTY & right welbiloved, we grete you wel; lating you wit, it is comen to our knowledge, that where as a ship lately to us belonging, called The Cast, laden by our welbiloved subgiетts, John Alen, Hugh Clopton, & Richard Fermour, and others, with wolles, cloth, & othre merchaundises & commodities of this our reame, being in her voyage towards the parties of Italye, was by excessive rage & storme of weder, afre many daungiers & perillis, in avoyding her extreme ruyn, driven by violence and force into the parties of Zeland, taking for her refuge & socour the road and watier nere unto Armewe; a pretence and clayme was made in the name of our cousine, the prince of Castille, of certain tolls, customs & othre exactions, called the toll of Gravelyng & Zeland. Wherupon the officers of our said cousin, caused not oonly the purser of the said shipp to be arrested in the town of Middyborowe, & committed unto prison, wher he remained to his grete payne, hurte & prejudice; but also with force of gonshot, in manner of warre, caused our said ship to be borded, and out of the same spoiled and toke al her sailles, & so deteigned, withhilde & kept her from her voyage, til such tyme as our said subgiетts were driven to put in sufficient suretie & caution, to aunswer ac-



ording to law. Which said detaignning not oonly put our said subgiетts to grete & excessive costs & charges, & their tyme gretely hindred, to thair expresse wrongs, but also hath been the cause, that by the retardation of our said ship, she now lately fell into the daungier & hands of the Mores & enfidels, enemys to Christ's faith. Which infidels, having certain foists & galeis appointed for the warres, have not oonly slayne diverse of our subgiетts, the maryners & gonners of our said shipp, but also have taken hir, & al the said goodes & merchaundises, with the residue of the people being in her, whom they have & detaigne in prison & captivity. And in as moch as it is notory, that in caas the said retardation had not been, our said ship of al similitude had not happened into the said daungier, we do not impute the culp & blame therof in any person, but oonly in the officers of our said cousin; which jacture, wrong & prejudice, we cannot, ne woll soffre to passe without sufficient reformation and amends. And considering that it is contrary to al law, right, and conscience, that any tolls, custumes, or othre impositions, shuld be exacted of any person for any ship, goods or merchaundises, so forced and driven in by weders, specially where nothing is intended to be put to sale; & for that also the treaties of entercourse, which hath liertofoe been made betwene us and our progenitors, & our said cousin & his progenitors, be expressely contrary hereunto; we therefore wol & command you, that shewing and extending this matier, at good length, to the commissioners of our said cousin, ye not oonly require restitution of such mony or bonds as have been made or payd, in the name of our said subgiетts for the said tolls, wherby they may be clerely recompensed & discharged of the same; but also for the more aggravation of this matier, ye demande amends as well for our said ship, & the goods and merchaundises, which, by meane of the said retardation, be now lost & taken, as is above said; as also of al other losses, dammages and hin-

draunces, susteined by the same. Endeavouring you with all effect to reduce & bring this matier to a good resolution, as our special trust is in you. Yeven undre our signet, at our manour of Greenwich, the xxii day of July.

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#### NUMBER IV.

*The constables of Tournay, being the yeomen of the king's guard there, to Cardinal Wolsey and the privy council; certifying the great hardships and inconveniences they must undergo, if, according to a late order, their wages should be altered from quarterly to half-yearly payments.*

Cot. Libr.  
Caligula.

WHEREAS it hath pleased your grace to direct, &c. certifying your grace & al the lords of the king's most honorable council, that wee, yeomen of the king's most honorable guard, his poor servants & daily orators, & yours, being constables here, whose names be subscribed everich of in his behalf, hath examined his company, according to his duty; and it is considered among us in general, that it would be great prejudice and hurt to the said garrison, if they should be paid according to the tenor of your grace's letters, for divers & many considerations.

p. 7.

First, it is to be considered, that the said garrison doth serve three months before they receive their wages; and incontinently at the receipt of the same, they pay for meat & drink, & for other things necessary, in the said three months had and obtained upon their credence. And what time they have paid al their duty, many a one have not a peny left, to convey himself for three months to come.

And besides, & over that, many one is in debt to the sum of 10 or 20 shill. some more, some less. This considered, it should be much more harder with us, and with the said garrison, if we be put to the half-year's payment.

Also, it is to be considered, that there is many a poor man in the said garrison, as well single men as wedded men. And wheras it is so, that single men can wel convey themselves from three months, but to be in debt more or less : much more harder it is with wedded men, having here his wife and 2 or 3 or 4 children a-piece, & some more and some less. And wheras men convey themselves by the space of 3 months, it should be much more harder to convey themselves by the space of half a year.

Also, tho' it be so, that victualers, which be not able of themselves to victual xx or xxx persons, but they should be greatly relieved out of the king's coffers ; yet other poor men, that hath wife & children, & keepeth a poor house by himself, is not relieved, except he have his wages. For tho' it be so, that men may have bread and beer upon their scores and tayles, yet shal not men have flesh, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, nor other things necessary, except they have ready mony. For the country victualet the city for ready mony. For and if the country should withdraw for lack of payment, it would cause great scarceness to be among us, to the great hurt of the said garrison.

Also, it is to be considered, that we be not among our special friends, as the king's garrisons of Calais, and elsewhere ; but we be among our friends by compulsion. And in such friends is no great trust & fidelity ; but smal faith or favour, without friendship or kindnes. For in the highest part of al France, we of the said garrison may have for our mony as much friendship, as we may have in the said city of Tournay, which hath been oftentimes proved. For what time any of the said garrison hath not mony to convey themselves & their households, then taketh they a gage, and layeth the same to a townes man to pledge, for to have mony therupon ; and if their gage or pledge be of the value of xx sh. then he shal have therupon the said pledge or gage 7 sh. or 8 sh. or thereabouts ; and if he fail of the day of payment,

incontinently he leese his gage or pledg, of what valour soever it be. In which their so doing is no maner of frienship.

p 8. Also, it is to be considered, that the king's most gracious coin is not accepted here & in England accordingly. For tho' that it be so, that the garrison receive the king's coin, as the pence after the rate of England, nevertheles what time that men shal buy victuals & other necessities, the peny starling is but worth a Flemish peny; and thus in every threepence starling there is one peny lost. And he that taketh 12d. by the day, his wages in buying any thing is but 8d. by the day. And he that taketh 8d. by the day is in like maner; his wages cometh to 5d. starling, & Flemish halfpeny. And like maner in al other what wages soever they take. Which is great loss and dommage to the said garrison here; & shal continue by reason of the payment of the said pence, except it shal please the king's highnes to command the said pence to be called home again into the realm of England, or else some other order and direction therin to be had & taken; and also that the king's most noble coin of his gold, as his royal, may have course for 10sh. sterling, and his angel noble at 6sh. 8d. sterling, and the crown at 4 — 2. sterling. Wheras the said garrison receive them, as the royal for 11 sh. sterling; the angel noble for 7 — 2. starling, & the crown for 4 — 6. starling. And thus appeareth the impoverishing of the said garrison.

For it is to be considered, that the merchant will sel their wares & merchandize, & likewise victuals; strangers, their victuals, so that they take no loss by the said mony. Wheras al the English victualers bear the loss, & others of the said garrison.

Also, that where men lack mony, meat & drink, with other necessities, which must needs be had, and that thing which a man may buy for 4d. starling of ready mony, if it be borrowed it shal cost 6d. or 7d. starling; which should be great hindrance to poor men; and should be never able to recover it, if they should



be paid by the half year, according to the tenor of your grace's letter.

Also, it is to be considered, that in the king's garrison royal, as in Calais & elsewhere, no *maltot* is demaunded, nor paid: wheras we of the king's garrison of Tournay pay for every tun of wine 40 sh. sterling *maltot*; & for every barrel of beer 12d. sterling; also we pay for fish, for flesh, & for every other thing that is bought; which amounteth to a great sum in the year; to the great hurt and dommage of the said garrison.

Also, it is to bee considered, that in the king's garrison royal, as in Calais and elsewhere, is wel invironed; as the sea and England on the one side, and the Marches of the same on the other side; which be to them great friends, by whom the said garrisons of Calais & elsewhere, be oftentimes relieved. And they have more for a Flemish peny than the garrison of Tournay hath for 2d. sterling; which commodities the king's garrison of Tournay lacketh in every behalf. Also, there is in the king's said garrison of Calais divers merchants that do victual the said garrison for half year to half year; and with as easie price as men may buy for ready mony. Wheras we, the said garrison of Tournay, have no such friends; but the contrary. For when the said garrison lacketh mony, then the said garrison lacketh victuals; as at this present is wel proved.

Humbly we beseech your grace, with al the lords of the king's most honorable council, that it may please your grace, with al the lords of the king's most honourable council, to be mean, & to inform the king's highness of these the premisses, & other, for the relief of the said garrison. And that it may please his highness to have consideration & remors, to this before rehearsed, in considering the true & faithful service that we, his poor servants, yeomen of his most honorable guard, with al the whole retinue of the said garrison, have don unto his highness hereto-

p. 9.

fore, & hereafter intendeth to do : that it may please his abundant goodness to look upon the said garrison with the ey of pity & of consideration, for the eschueing of the indempnity of the said premisses.

And that it may furthermore please his highness to command that provision of mony may be had to the deputy of this his city of Tournay, & treasurer, to content & pay the garrison here accordingly, by the three months, as it hath been heretofore used.

And further, we humbly beseech your grace, and al the said lords of the king's most honorable council, your said daily orators, to have consideration of the said premisses ; & for the information therof to the king's highness.

And furthermore, not to take displeasure with your said poor men, & daily orators, for their rude writing unto your grace ; which lacketh as wel learning as good counsil. But as they write unto your grace after their natural witts, & as poverty and necessity constraineth them to write according to the truth ; & further, for the preservation of the said garrison, & the welfare of the same.

And thus your said poor men & daily orators be ever bound to pray to God for your grace, & for al the lords of the king's most honorable council, that your honors may long continue & endure.

|                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| John Prince,     | Will. Harford, |
| Will. Bentall,   | Rich. Dobell,  |
| Rich. Forster,   | Evan Bodmer,   |
| Rob. Mitchel,    | John Brodger,  |
| John Erdeley,    | Tho. Walett,   |
| Tho. Gray,       | Rich. Stone,   |
| Tho. Stribithil, | Rob. Axe.      |

## NUMBER V.

*Sir Richard Jernegan, L. Deputy of Tournay, & the council; their letter to the cardinal, accompanying the former, written by the constables.*

PLEASETH your grace to understand, that 28 day of April last past, we received your letter, dated at Westminster the 22. day of April; wherein your grace's pleasure is, that upon deliberate communication had of sundry of our letters sent unto your grace for provision of mony, it was thought by the king's grace, & his most honorable council, that inasmuch as none of the king's garrisons in any other place, be, or have been, used to be paid their wages but half-yearly, it standeth not with any necessity, that the garrison of this town of Tournay should have continually so hasty and speedy payment made to them at the end of every three months; and for that cause the king's pleasure is, that after the third day of the said month of April, finally determined, the payments to be paid at the end of every half-year, & not before: so that the third day of October, & the third day of April, shall be from henceforth our days of payment. And for ease & better commodity of soldiers and victuallers, his pleasure is, that a prest of a thousand marks shal be advanced, & assigned to the garrison, to be deducted and rebated at the half-year's payment. And over this, it is his gracious pleasure, the premisses to be notified & declared to al the garrison. And after, that we al of our council here, & captains of the retinue, do send a certificate signed, and subscribed with our names; declaring our selves to be contented, & conformable to receive the payment in form afore rehearsed; without any farther calling, or molesting the king & his council in that behalf, &c.

Pleaseth your grace, according to the king's commandment & your grace in this behalf, we have called before us al the captains, men of arms, vinteners, & constables; & declared & shewed them the king's

Cott. Libr.  
Caligula.

p. 10.

pleasure & your grace's, taken in the premisses, with the whole circumstance of your grace's letter; to the end, that they and every of them should assemble their companies, to advertise them the same; & that they should conform themselves to follow the tenour of your said grace's letter. Whereupon they have all assembled their companies, & have made certificates, as it appeareth: which certificates we send your grace with this letter; as wel the captains with the men of arms by themselves, as vinteners & constables by themselves.

Whereby your grace shal perceive the great necessity & poverty that is among them. And, Sir, as far as we can know, we ascertain your grace, & al my lords of the council, that al the articles declared in the said certificates, be of truth, & unfeigned. And also, that we cannot see it is possible to be brought to so long a day without the aventure, without some great inconvenience.

For at the making hereof, there were certain victuallers came, & complained to me, the king's deputy, that there were divers of the garrison that had taken their victuals from them by force. Whereupon I called afore me the parties so doing, to make redress therof. And they answered me, that they had offered the victualers to taylle with them, & to set it upon scores: for that they had was laid to pledge, & that poverty made them do it; for mony they had none, nor no man would trust them, & without meat and drink they could not live. And the victuallers being as poor for their parts as others; for theirs might not abide the same. Whereupon I was driven to find remedy for the time, as I might. Nevertheless, Sir, we assure your grace, if that we have not right shortly relief of mony for their wages, what great inconveniences would fortune by this extreme necessity, God knows, & we fear the likelihood; especially, because the danger is at al howres so near, as here, to us.



## NUMBER VI.

p. 11.

*The Lord Mounjoy, & the Council at Tournay, to Cardinal Wolsey, upon his information of an enterprize intended against that place.*

PLEASE your grace, my lord, we have received your letters, dated at Duresm Place, &c. Cott. Libr.  
Caligul. E.

My lord, your grace knoweth wel, we lately have advertised you, as to the news of the enterprize of the French men; how that we suppose verily they be of little effect. I, the king's lieutenant here, was also advertised of the same news by the said master deputy; & both afore his advertisement, & since, I sent out divers ways to know what assemblies were made, & the cause thereof; & was ascertained, that the assembly that was made was full poor, as was their musters. And, as some take it, that it was to make braggs to the King of Arragon's ambassadors. And I think it shalbe hard, what by such friends as I have gotten in these parties, & by such espies as I send forth, that smal things shal be attempted against this city, but I shal have warning afore.—Notwithstanding, we require your grace to continue your advertisement concerning this city; and that that shal come to our knowledge, we shal ascertain you in like wise, as our duties are. And if I had authority, and therewith to retain folks of their council, as wel might be don, I doubt not but I should know more of their privities, & their enterprizing, than I can now.

And as to the furnishing of this town with things necessary, if busines should fortune, we shal do that in us do ly. But your grace knoweth wel we are but bare of mony here, & have but little over to bear the charge of the garrison & labours monthly; and for that purpose must be occupied divers ways, (if any such chance should fortune,) no smal sums of money. This city is also ill provided of victuals; & much we have to do with the inhabitants & council to have

it amended, & to cause them to make provision for themselves. And as to the soldiers, they be of none ability for to provide of victuals, but look it should be provided of the king, in like wise as it was in Mr. Poinyng's days; for as yet there is no established garrison.

Furthermore, wheras your grace thinketh, that the assembly which is bruited to be, or if any attemptes shalbe made against us, is not without the comfort, stirring, and procuring of the inhabitants of this town; wherefore the opinion of the king's council is, & the king's express commaundment, that we forthwith, by all the best means that we can use, shal take from the said inhabitants al their harness & habiliments of war; wherby we shalbe out of danger of them, if they intend any thing prejudicial unto the city.

p. 12. My lord, as to that matter, we have used the best way we could devise; and for the same have caused al the city to be searched, what harness & habiliments of war they have; shewing unto them, we would know in what a readines they were to serve the king, if need were. And the report is brought in by captains & others, which had the busines, that in harness & habergeons, good & evil, there be not in the inhabitants' hands above the number of 557; in cross-bows 80, & in hand-guns 65: which number we think little to be feared, if any danger; where we may soon have them. And now, if we should take them, they would little help us; and a great rumour should rise thereof. If the king's grace, or his council, wol, that in any wise we shall take them, his pleasure shal be accomplished to the best we may.

We have also visited the artilery-house of the town, which is no great thing; it is under strong doors & locks, in the keeping of the four chiefs of this city. And I, the king's lieutenant, intend to have other keys of the same doors, and to be the fifth with them.

My lord, we beseech your grace to have in remem-

brance, that we may have mony shortly, and that we may have some store remaining by us; for we were never so ill furnished. My lord, we had made you answer or this, of the premisses, saving we deferred the same unto we had taken view throughout this city, both of their store of victuals & harness. And thus our Lord have you in his tuition. Written at Tournay the  $\overline{\text{xi}}$  day of Septemb.

At your grace's commaundment,

*Will. Mountjoy.*

*Sir Ric. Jarnegam.*

*Richard Sampson.*

*Sir Joh. Tremayle.*

*Sir Richard Whettehil.*

## NUMBER VII.

*A private combination of France, Denmark, & Scotland, of invading England, and attacking Tournay; discovered to Sir Richard Jernegan, the king's lieutenant there, by one Henry Crossene, a spy of the cardinal's in the French court: being part of a letter from the said Sir Richard to the cardinal.*

PLEASITH your grace to understand, that this day came one Henry Crossene unto one of the gates here at Tournay, &c. Your grace shal moreover understand, that the same Henry Crossene is come strait from the French king's court, and hath shewed me this news following to advertise your grace with diligence.

Cott. Libr.  
Caligula.

First, he saith, that the French king, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Albany for the realm of Scotland, and Richard de la Pole, be al in one confederation & appointment, & concluded upon these enterprizes following. And for the sure conclusion of the same, there is already departed into Scotland, & from thence to Denmark, Monsieur de Pursel, chief counsellor of Roan, & David Cokron, king of herolds. The which David, herold of Denmark, was the same that I took going to France now lately; of whom I

wrote unto your grace with speed. And whether my letters came to your grace, or not; or if I did in the same acceptable service, or not, hitherto knew neither the king's pleasure, nor your grace's.

*Item*, That Richard de la Pole should take shipping in Denmark, & the Duke of Ulske, the King of Denmark's unkle, with a certain number of lance knights, to land in some part of England.

*Item*, That the Duke of Albany shall take shipping in Bretain, to go into Scotland; and there to make busines against the king in those parties.

*Item*, That Monsieur de Burbone, & the Duke of Vendosme, at the same time shall come before this town. So that al these enterprizes should be put in execution al at one time; to the end that the king should be more troubled for the defence of the same.

And al this should be put in ure within this two or three months.

And for that your grace may give the more credence, & to have the more knowledg in this before rehearsed, there is one Mr. Robert Cokborne, a Scot, & Bp of Ruse, who hath disclosed al this to the same Henry Crossene, as he saith; to the end that your grace may be advertised. And the same Mr. Robert Kokborn desireth the king's passport to pass & repass with twelve horses with himself, and then at his coming he will shew your grace more at length of al that is further determined; the which he wil disclose to no man, but to the king's highnes, or to your grace. And if it shal be your grace's pleasure, that the said Mr. Ro. Kokb. shal have the king's passport, and that it may so please your grace, that the same passport may be sent to me, or to the master of the fellowship, Mr. Hewester, where the said Will. (Henry) Cross. do tary for the same; who should have the conveyance of it most secretlie that might be. For, as far as I can perceive by Will. (Hen.) Cross. the said Mr. Rob. Kokb. would depart secretlie out of France, & with hast by this herold of Denmark, which was here taken, is much



of this before rehearsed, come to Mr. Rob. K.'s knowledge: for they are both Scots. And the herold thought that Mr. Ro. K. was good French, as he hath been before. But some cause there is, that he is not at this time content with the French king, but glad to be revenged.

Your grace shall understand, that Richard de la Pool is departed from the French king, & is departed to Mence, in Lorain; and from thence shall go to Denmark, as the same William saith. I doubt not, but as shortly as he shal depart from thence, I shal be advertised of his departure; for I have sent espials to Mence for the same.

Also, I send your Grace a letter here enclosed, that one Polle, a master of a ship, dwelling at Hansardame (Amsterdam) in Holland, hath sent to a priest, Sir William, that is with Rich. de la Poole. The which Polle hath always served in time past Perkyn Warbeke, from Edmond de la Pole, & now Richard de la Pole; wherfore this letter is the more suspect. And if this enterprize before rehearsed should be put in execution, I am sory that your grace, & al the lords of the king's most honorable privy council hath not given credence to our oft writings, for the advauncement of such works, as should have been great, and most necessary for the surety of this the king's citadel. For if the same had been after our poor avices followed in the same, at the time the older part of this castle, which is yet very feeble, had been clean out of danger, & as strong & as defenceable as other of the new works is. And for lack of the same, I assure your grace, who-soever hath informed your grace the contrary, there shalbe great danger and great paine, with loss of many men to defend the same, if any such thing shal fortune or chaunce.

p. 14.

And now, Sir, at this time, for extreme poverty by fault and lack of mony, there be here, I assure your grace, many dead, weary, and uncomfortable hearts, as knoweth our Lord God, who ever preserve

your grace to his pleasure. Written at Tournay, the last day of May, by your servant to his little power,

SIR RYCHARD JARNEGAN.

To my Lord Cardinal's good grace.

## NUMBER VIII.

*The chapter of the church of Tournay to their bishop, the Cardinal of York ; acknowledging their thankfulness to him, for procuring them the king's patent, confirming al their former liberties ; and begging his patronage.*

Cotton  
Library,  
Caligula,  
F. 1.

LITERAS vestræ amplitudinis, reverendissime pater, accepimus ; quæ nobis omnibus & jucundissimæ & gratissimæ fuerunt: eoque magis, quod jampridem summo desiderio expetivimus occasionem aliquam nobis oblatum iri, qua vestræ dignationi studiosissimè gratificaremur. Quam nunc oblatam esse mirificè gaudemus, & lætamur. Non quod vestris in nos beneficiis dignu aliquid jam rependamus: quinimo (sicuti par est) declarare imprimis cupimus, non modo nostram erga vestram paternitatem benevolentiam (quæ, ut debetur, maxima est) sed cultum in eam præcipuum, observantiàmq; singularem. Nos igitur omnes eodem assensu, ac una omnium voce, ita vestræ dignationis petitioni annuimus (quæ imperare potius quàm rogare debuisset) ut vehementer doleremus nos in re ampliori vestræ paternitati non posse morem gerere: condonantes hilarissimè chirurgi regij filio quicquid vestra amplitudo postulavit. Desideramus etiam id vestræ amplitudini esse persuasum, nichil esse, sive & exiguum sit, aut grande, quod non alacriter ac promptissimè vestra causa efficiamus.

Neq; tamen illud est omittendum, quod literatissimo, humanissimóq; d<sup>no</sup> doctori, vestræ paternitatis vicario, pluribus exposuimus; eam scil. pecuniam,

quæ imprimis canonicorum receptionibus solita est persolvi, non in nostros usus & commoditatem converti, aut à nobis esse institutam, sed id omne pecuniæ quod persolvitur, in ecclesiæ fabricam, & thesaurarium ad cappam comparandam, implicatur. Quod etiam apostolica auctoritate & decreto huic ecclesiæ concessum est.

Cæterùm, ne pluribus vestram dignationem detineamus, ea omnia eidem pollicemur, quæ à fidelissimis oratoribus, & vestræ dignitatis & nominis amantissimis, postulari possunt. Ad quod sanè astringimur multis magnisq; rationibus. Vestra enim providentia effectum est, ut ecclesiastica libertas regali munere conservata & defensa sit, atque hactenus ejusmodi Gubernatores rectorésq; assecuti sumus, qui nos nostaq; privilegia illæsa immotaq; tutati sunt. Quæ nimirum omnia in vestræ amplitudinis egregiam laudem & gloriam cumulatissimè reddiderunt.

Oramus igitur, atq; obtestamur vestram dignitatem, ut vestræ hujus ecclesiæ patrociniū tutelamq; suscipiat, quæ cotidiè suplicibus votis & pro invictissimi regis nostri serenitate, & vestræ paternitatis prospera successu omnipotentem Deum, humiliter supplicitéq; precamur. Valeat dignissima vestra paternitas. Ex capitulo nostro Tornacens. hac xv. Octobris.

V. Rev<sup>ma</sup>. paternitati humiles & obsequiosi oratores, capitulum Tornasense, decano absente.

Reverendiss. & observandissimo in  
Christo primati, & Domino nostro  
D<sup>no</sup> Cardinali Eboracensi.

p. 15.

## NUMBER IX.

A Commission of Cardinal Wolsey to the Bishops ; to require al Luther's books and writings to be brought in, & delivered up to them from al persons whatsoever : and they to send them up to him. It was intituled,

*Commissio ad monendum omnes personas, ecclesiasticas & sæculares ; quòd omnia scripta & libellos Martini Luther. Hæretici, penes se existen. ad manus episcopi, vel ejus commissarij infra tempus assignat. afferant, & tradant sub excommunicationis & hæreticorum pænis.*

Regist.  
Booth, Ep.  
Heref.

THOMAS miseratione divina tituli sce Cecilie Romanæ ecclesiæ, cardinalis Eboracensis archiep. Angliæ primas, & apostolicæ sedis legatus, ipsiûsq; regni Angliæ cancellarius, necnon sanctissimi in Christo patris & dni. LEONIS divina providentia hujus nominis papæ decimi, & dict sedis etiam de latere legatus. Ad illustrissimum & potentiss. principem & dom. nostrum HENRICUM dei gra. Angl. & Franc. regem, & dom. Hibern. universumq; ejus Angliæ regnum ; ac omnes & singulas ipsius regni provincias, civitates, terras & loca illi subjecta, & alia illi adjacentia.

Venerabili fri. nostro dno. CAROLO Herefordens. episcopo, ipsiûsve in spiritualib. vicario generali, salutem in dno.

p. 16.

Cum jampridem præfatus sanctissimus dus. noster multos & varios articulos sive errores cujusdam Martini Lutheri pestiferos & perniciosos, ac Græcorum hæresim & Bohemicam expressè continentes ; olim etiam per concilia generalia et summorum pontificum constitutiones, damnatos, et per ipsum Martinum nuper suscitatos, habita primitus super eisdem, & eorum singulas diligenti discussione, atque matura deliberatione, tanquam pestiferos, perniciosos & hæreticos, ac simplicium mentium seductivos, veritatieque catholicæ obviantes ; ejusdem quoq; Martini libellos,



scripta ac scedulas in Latino, vel quocúnq; alio idiomate reperta; damnaverit, reprobaverit, atque omnino rejecerit, prôq; damnatis, reprobatis & rejectis ab omnibus Christi fidelibus habere debere, decreverit, & declaraverit. Inhibuerítq; idem sanctissimus dus. noster, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub majoris excommunicationis sententia; atque etiam hæreticorum & fautorum eorundem aliisque multiplicibus gravibus & formidabilibus pœnis, eo ipso, absq; ulteriori declaratione, incurrend. omnibus & singulis, tam ecclesiasticis quàm secularibus personis, cujuscúnq; gradus ac conditionis aut præeminentiæ forent; ne præfatos errores, aut eorum aliquos, asserere, affirmare, defendere, aut quomodo libet favere; vel hujusmodi libellos, scedulas, scripta vel in iis contenta capitula, legere, asserere, imprimere, publicare, defendere, vel in sermonibus suis, sive locis aliis, privatè vel occultè quoquomodo tenere, præsumant. Prout in literis præfatis sanctiss. dni. nostri sub plumbo cum filis sericiis rubei & glauci coloris pendentibus, more Romanæ curiæ bullatis. Dat. Romæ, apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnat. Dominicæ Mill<sup>imo</sup>. quingentes<sup>o</sup> vicessimo, xiii. kalend. Julij: pontificat. sui anno octavo, plenius continetur.

Nos igitur THOMAS cardinalis Eborancens. ac legatus de latere antedict. pro divina, & ipsius sanctiss. dni. nostri reverentia, éq; officij nostri debito, hujusmodi pesti, priusquam in hoc inclyto Angliæ regno radices agat, providere; ac ne tanquam vepris nocua latiùs serpat viam præcludere cupientes, de consensu, voluntate & mandato expressis, prefati potentiss. & illustriss. principis, dni. nostri regis. quem dictus sanctiss. dnus. noster, tanquam præcipuum fidei catholicæ propugnatorem & defensorem, per suum breve, ad hujusmodi hæresim ab hoc inclyto suo regno explodendum, extirpand. & abolend. summo opere, rogavit & hortatus est; habitóq; super hac re diligenti tractatu, & exacta deliberatione cum reverendiss. in Christo patre & dno. D. Willimo

Condem.  
natio erro-  
rum Mar-  
tini Luth.

Rex Ang-  
liæ fidei  
defensor  
nucupatus.

p. 17. Cantuar. archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primate, & apostolicæ sedis legato, ac cum nonnullis aliis venerabilibus fratribus nostris, hujus regni prælatis; deq; eorum consilio & expresso consensu; vobis auctoritate nostrâ legatinâ, qua fungimur, in hac parte firmiter injungendo, mandamus, quatenus omnes et singulos, abbates, priores, gardianos & præsidentes, monasteriorum, prioratuum, & locorum religiosorum quoruncúnq; cujusvis ordinis, tam exemptorum, quam non exemptorum, necnon collegiatarum decanos, præpositos, & custodes, parochialiúmque quoq; ecclesiarum rectores, vicarios, & curatos quoscúnq; tam vestræ quam cujusvis peculiaris, sive exemptæ jurisdictionis intra vestram dioc. consistentes, distinctè moneatis, & eis injungatis, seu sic moneri & injungi faciatis; quod proximo die dominico, sive solenni post hujusmodi vestram monitionem sive injunctionem eis fact. in ecclesiis suis intra missarum, sive divinorum officiorum solemnias, cum major inibi convenerit multitudo, publicè moneant, vel moneri faciant omnes & singulos bibliopolas, stationarios, sive librorum venditores, ac omnes alias & singulas personas, ecclesiasticas & sæculares intra præcinctum monasteriorum, prioratuum, collegiorum sive locorum aut parochiarum suarum respectivè existentes, seu commorantes, cujuscúnque generis. status aut conditionis existant; ut omnia scripta, vel impressa, *vizt.* Scedulas & libellos dict. Martini Lutheri, vel ejus nomine composita, edita, sive divulgata in Latino, vel quovis alio idiomate, penes se existen. ad vos seu vestrum in hac parte commissarium citra quintum decimum diem hujusmodi monitionem seu injunctionem ei fact. proximè & immediatè sequent. afferunt & ad manus vestras vel vri. hujusmodi commissarij, realiter tradant & liberent, seu sic afferri, & tradi faciant. Recusantes vero, aut ultra dict. quintum decimum diem hujusmodi scripta inferri, ut premissum est, & realiter tradere, temerè & contumaciter differentes, omnes & singulos, cujuscunque gradus, status & conditionis existunt, majoris excom-

municationis sententiam eo ipso incursum, ac tanquam hæreticæ pravitatis, & hæreticorum celatores & fautores esse reputandos, habend. & judicand. hæreticorumq; pœnis percellendos, & puniendos, denuntient, & declarent.

Prædictos etiam, abbates, priores, gardianos, præsidentes, decanos, præpositos, custodes, rectores, vicarios & curatos supradict. ut supra moneatis, & eis injungatis, quod & ipsi omnia scripta impressa, libellos, seu scedulas à dict. Martino composita & edita, aut sub ejus nomine divulgata, penes se existentia, pari modo citra prædict. XV. diem, ad vos, vel vestrum hujusmodi commissarium afferant, & realiter tradant. Quod siqui ex ipsis non curaverint, aut prædict. vestras monitiones debite executi non fuerint & personis infra sua monasteria, prioratus, collegia, parochia & loca commorantibus (prout eos respective concernunt) modo quo præmittitur, minimè publicaverint, eos denuntietis simili modo majoris excommunicationis sententia innotatos, & tanquam hæreticorum fautores habendos, ac eorum pœnis afficiend. moneatis insuper omnes & singulos abbates, priores gardianos, &c. & eis auctoritate nostra injungatis, quod ipsi omnes & singulas personas, ecclesiasticas & sæculares, infra limites monasteriorum, prioratuum, collegiorum, &c. respective existentès sive degentes, loco tempore & modo præmissis, discretè moneatis quod siquis hujusmodi libellos vel scedulas, scriptave, sive impressa dict. Martini Luther. opera, penes aliquem cujuscunque status aut conditionis fuerit, occultè servari aut suppressi; ac vobis, vel dicto vestro commissario, citra præmissum diem quintum decimum tradi ac liberari cognoverit; quod sic servantem, tenentem, & suppressentem, mox ipso quinto decimo, sub pœnis, superius expressis, vobis vestrove hujusmodi commissario, denuntiet, detegat, & revelet. Quod si fortassis non ante præmemoret quintum decimum, sed postea ad alicujus notitiam pervenerit hujusmodi scripta vel impressa dict. Martini opera, à quovis celari, teneri & servari, tunc infra quindecim dies

a tempore notitiæ suæ hujusmodi, sub pœnis superius expressis, id vobis detegere & denuntiare non omittat.

p. 18. Et quoniam universæ reip. Christianæ, præsertim hujus regni, & locorum supra memoratorum plurimum interest, præfatas literas sanctis. dni. nostri damnationem dict. Martini Luther, & opinionum suarum perversarum continentes, divulgari & publicari; idcirco vobis committimus & mandamus, quatenus ipsarum literarum apostolicarum transsumpta per notarium publicum, in forma autentica redacta, & sigillo nostro sigillat. quæ ad vos una cum præsentibus, transmittimus, in valvis, seu locis publicis ecclesiæ vestræ cathedral. aliarumq; ecclesiarum regularium, collegiatarum, & paroch. vestræ dioc. magis insignium, firmiter affigatis; sicq; affixa dimittatis; seu saltem affigi & dimitti faciatis.

De die vero receptionis præsentium, executioneq; earundem, & quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra primum diem mensis augusti proximè futur. debitè, distinctè & apertè certificetis. Ac omnia & singula, scedulas, libellos, tractatus & opera prædict. Martini, edita, scripta & impressa, per vos recepta, vel aliter quovis modo in manibus vestris, sive penes vos existen. citra prædict. primum diem Augusti, nobis tradere, sive ad nos fideliter, & absque ulla fraude, transmittere curetis. Dat. sub sigillo nostro in ædibus nostris prope Westme<sup>r</sup>. XIII die mensis Maij, anno dom. 1521.

Sequuntur aliqui errores pestiferi Martini Luther, &c.

Qui quidem errores respectivè, quàm sint pestiferi, quàm perniciosi, quàm scandalosi, quàm piarum & simplicium mentium seductivi; quàm deniq; sint contra omnem charitatem, ac S.R.E. matris, omnium fidellium, & inagist<sup>r</sup>. fidei reverentiam, atq; nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scil. quæ fons est, & origo omnium virtutum; sine qua facilè unusquisq; infidelis esse convincitur; nemo sanæ mentis ignorat. Nos igitur in præmissis, etc.



## NUMBER X.

*For, Bishop of Winchester, to the cardinal; upon his purpose of reforming the ecclesiastics & religious in both provinces. For which he sheweth an earnest desire, as highly necessary.*

**R**EVERENDISSIME pater & dne. mihi unicè semper observande, salte<sup>m</sup> plurimam, & optatum votorum omnium successum.

Ingentem atq; mirificam, pater amplissime, ex-  
proximis vestris ad me literis, cepi consolationem  
atq; voluptatem; quod ex illis intellexi D. V. reve-  
rendissimam universi cleri reformationem secum insti-  
tuisse; & ad eam inchoandam atq; aggrediendam  
diem brevi futuram præfinijsse & præscripsisse. Eum  
námq; profectò diem jam diu non minus, quàm  
Symeon ille evangelicus expectatum messiam, votis  
omnibus videre expetivi, & ex quo illas D. V. reve-  
rendiss<sup>æ</sup> literas legi, reformationem ampliorem et  
multo exactiorem universæ Anglorum ecclesiasticæ  
hierarchiæ, mihi videor tantum non sentire & palpare,  
quàm ego hac hominum ætate vel faciundam vel  
ineundam divinare potui, nedum sperare. Conatus  
enim facere (quod mearum erat partium) in ditione  
hac meâ peculiari & exiguâ, quod V. præstantissima  
dominatio instituit in utraq; amplissima hujus regni  
provincia; et hoc ferè perpetuum triennium illi uni  
negotio diligenter incubui; omniâq; mea studia,  
labores, vigiliæ, sudores, in ea ferè una collocavi.  
Ubi, quod prius non putassem, deprehendi & ani-  
madverti, omnia, quæ ad antiquam cleri, & præci-  
puè monachiæ, integritatem spectant, adeo vel li-  
centiis & corruptelis depravata, vel temporum malig-  
nitate & diuturnitate abolita & corrupta, ut ætate mihi  
confecto, voluntatem & studium auxerint; spem verò  
omnem sustulerint, perfectam & absolutam unquam  
videndi reformationem, in hac vel mea diocesi privata.

Nunc autem ex optatissimis illis V. R<sup>mæ</sup>. D<sup>nis</sup>. lite-

Cott.  
Librar.  
Faustina,  
C. 7.

p. 19.

ris veni in certissimam spem, summamq; expectationem brevi videndi universalem & publicam. Exploratissimum nempe habeo, multisq; experimentis luculentissimè perspectum, quicquid D. V. R<sup>ma</sup> inoliatur, instituerit & susceperit, id eam omne prudentissimè & constantissimè, citra negotium aut contationem, confecturam & felicissimè absoluturum: tam incomparabilis extat in ea divinarum humanarúmque rerum peritia, tamq; singularis apud serenissimum nostrum regem, sanctissimúmque D. papam, gratia & autoritas. Quibus, quum V. circumspectissima D. hactenus ita perfuncta sit, ut summam inde laudem, amplissimamq; per universum orbem famam, sic assecuta; ex hac profecto sua clarissima legatione, quam compositis, & suâ unâ operâ inter christianiss. principes, confirmatis fœderibus; ad statum & ordinem ecclesiasticum reformandum, & componendum decrevit convertere; solidam & immortalem apud Deum & omnem posteritatem gloriam reportabit. Tanto cæteris omnibus, qui nostra memoria quovis gentium à summi pontificis latere missi sunt, præstantiorem & celebriorem, quanto vel pax bello expetibilior, vel clerus populo sanctior, & veneratior. Nam si quamplurimis pontificibus maximis, vel oblivione, vel silentio præteritis, bini illi olim huc legati omnium ore ubiq; terrarum hodiè celebrantur: idq; tamen ob nonnullas sanctiones, quas præmaturo Romam reditu infirmiores reliquère, quæ ætas, aut quæ malignitas V. R<sup>mi</sup> nominis laudem & celebritatem vel delere possit unquam, vel obfuscare; cum universum Angliæ clerum & monachiam suæ integritati & dignitati restituerit; & legem ad eam tuendam, & inconcussè servandam, condiderit; conditâsque moribus & consuetudine comprobari & confirmari, fecerit.

Quod D<sup>ni</sup> V. R<sup>mæ</sup>. non dubito eo multo facilius feliciusq; succedet, quod rex noster christianissimus, cujus hortatu & auspicijs (arbitror) hanc provinciam recepit, omnem suam auctoritatem & opem ei ad votum, impertiet: omnesque prælati, præsertim

episcopi, suos assensus & studia alacres, ni admodum fallor, adhibebunt.

Et ut de meipso saltem pollicear, quod animus meus ferre præstaréq; gestit, sic mihi videtur hæc reformatio cleri & sacrorum omnium oblatrantem diu populum placatura, clerum illustratura, regem ipsum sereniss. & optimates omnes clero conciliatura; & Deo imprimis opt. max. plus omnibus sacrificiis usq; adeo placitura, ut quicquid reliquum sit mihi hujus vitæ curriculi, id in eam lubentissimè impenderem atq; consumerem: uti D. V. Rev<sup>mæ</sup>. apertius coram declarabo ad diem in illius literis præfinitum; si mihi vivo & sano illum videre detur.

Interim vero, imo dum vixero, deum benignissimum cotidiè assiduèq; inter sacri - - - - - precabor, ut D. V. Rev<sup>am</sup>. diutissimè servet, omniâque illius instituta secundet, & feliciter & fausté. Ex Marwellis postridie calendas Januarij.

V. Re<sup>mæ</sup>. D<sup>is</sup>. devinctiss. orator.

RI. WYNTON.

## NUMBER XI.

*Richard Pace, the king's ambassador to the emperor, from his camp in Italy; concerning the state of his army there against the French.*

*To the king's highness.*

**P**LEASITH hyt your highnes to bce advertisid; that upon the 21th of July wee entred the montens, namid *Le Colle de Tenda*, so upright to ascend and stand, that in many places it made us creep of al four; & so proclive in descence, that without great forcemeant to go bolt upright, wee could not avoide to fal down headlyng; & universallie so difficile and joberdeuse, that no man can peraventure beleve the same without like experience, as wee al therin fownde; but, our lord highlie be laudid & semblablie thankid, the number passid with leasse detriment, then is in

MSS.  
D. G. H.  
Eq. Aur.

manner credible; but what tediousnes of heats, thirst and hunger, with molestious passage of baggage, was therein generallie sufferid, with other inconveniencies infinit, at this present I omit to declare, as things over base to write unto your grace: whom I wold not ignorant, that I your poor servant among the mo making as gud shift, as an other, hath byn on horsbacke & foot in continual journey from mydnight to mydnight: where I durst not in the most part therof other turn my horse travers for al the worldlie riches, nor in manner look on my left hand, for the pronite and deepnes to the valei. The 6th day imediatlie foloing wee attained Nice, the foot of the said hill; where themprour, bankettid for the space of two howers of the Duke of Savoy & the duchesse, departid incontinent to the camp, lying three miles beyond, in Saint Laurence, within the jurisdiction of France: where for the refreshing of his army, now very werie, & with intolerable labour almost overcum, continued five days; and thens made seven long miles: the next day ten leages, & *postridie* twelve; attayning a towne called Fryew, replenisht with Capiten Tamise band, contayning seven thousand such Almans, as often hath not byn seen, both of personage, & also valiancie: the which imbarkid at Oeane, after they had depopulatid the cond of Mirandula his londes, were hard set - - - -, & putting all the town to flight and sacke, as thorowe all our journey wee found the people fled into the mowntens for the savegard of there lyves and goddes; notwithstanding his majestie made proclamation thorowout by trumpet, that they should not feare nor flye him, for that that hee had no quarrel against; but offerid, if they wolde tarie, to protect & kepe them & thers harmeles, as a prince ful of misericord

& mercy, having no notable vice reigning in hym worthy reprehension, more then the fragilite of man temperid & governid with reason, often sufferith & provokith. After wee enterid the said king's londes, wee found all kindes of vitell plentie, and



food for horse in great copie, as otherwyse in our other passages before made, store of gudlie rivers to drink: where every man, compellid to make provision of bred & wine, did accordinglie, by the gudnes of Almighty God so abundantlie furnishid with the same, that wee did therwith pass thorow the journey without any great detriment suffered. Here tharmy continued four days; many of our tents and pavilions, by extreme vehement windes, not onely blown downe, but also rent in peaces. From whence, before the departeur of the same, was sent before the mentioned capitene with hys to scower the way of al enemise, accompanyng hym, Ferdinando Gonzaga, with three hundred light horses: that skirmishing with four hundred hagbushiers of France, an hundred & fifty archers, & so many men of armes (as more particularly this present measenger can sufficientlie instructe your grace) defaitid them all in a shorte tyme, both parties manfully fightyng for the space; and that onely by the meane of an hundred old soudiers of Spayne hagbusheirs mynglied among our mentionid light horses. In the which combatterie were taken two nobles of France. Thone namid Mons. Busie, & the other Monteiane, capitene general of the Pictons, now returnid home upon there rancesome paid before, brought to themperor to kyss his hondes; that of there parties humble offerid, hee, like hymself refusid. Seven hundred horsemen sent from the kyng of Romans, hath now attaynid our camp; which I esteme so strong & potent, that hyt were able, in my judgment, to discomfit the Turque and his armie; comprizing an hundred thousand of as gud fyghtyng men, as ever hee was capitene of; ye, if there were therunto adjuted fifty thousand moo. Here yet remainith many gentlemen of France under savegard, taken in the skirmish aboue towchid. Themprour kepith as gudlie an order in hys fyld, & in the setting forth of the same, as possible is, always in a reddines to rencontre hys adversarie. That in Fryew set four & twenty great peaces of

artillerie on lond with carteis to carrie the same, dayly foloing us in the hinder ward. Hit is a wondre to see the boties our soudiars bringith dayly into the camp from the mountaines, & what shyft is made to fynde out hidden riches in wals, & under the ground, nothyng escaping the Spanyardys, in that facultie wonderfullie experimentid or learnid.

Your highnes herith all the resystance themprour hath had syns his entrie into the province. Ow being in Fryew, came a trumpeter of France to view our campe, under the couler of visitation of a marques of Spayne, in the behalf of Monsr. Roch de Mann, not long syns plegge for the surrenderie of Fussan, in my other lettres from those parties sent mentioned, for that humanitie hee then fownd in that fortune of the said marches. Among all other his majesties awnswer unto such a sleveless messeage was, that hee cw'd not a litle marvel to perceive so great paines & charges taken in this visitation, where personallie hee might have rendrid hys condign thanks more nere home very shortly by moughth. There is cumen alate from Almane, a capiten, named Jasper, with twelve thousand men of war; wherof part bee left at Turin in Italy, & part be in this our camp with the said capiten. The sixth day after our departeur from Savillay in Piemont, the French men of Thurrin came thither with all there power & force to sack the same: the which as they were a doing, themprours army there left of Almans & Italions so set upon them, that scace escapid one to carie newes of there defeit to the said Turrin. The king of Romains horsemen touchid in my other letters of Bocmes remaineth in Italy for the defence of the same, against such persons as are had in a jelosie of revolting, that bee in my beleafe the Venetians: that, having no manner of possessions nor jurisdictions, but by tyranny & mear occupation, fearith the greatness of his majesty, that in tyme to cum may so peasible increase, that there feathers should bee thereby worthilie pluckid; there own

consciencs arguing & condempning there intolerable ambition, usurping other mens gudes; whom I may reasonably compare to the bat, deplumed for her inconstancie, of part taking now here, now there; givynge ayd where she saw victorie incline, as a condign punishment for hur defection from hur natural lord & capitene, as referrith the wise fable of Isepe.

There bee a thousand Spaniards cumming from Spain, the which (as I conjectur) bee to put into fortresses, as they bee renderid or gotten: for they be naturallie men of great pain, & that can suffer hunger as long as is for man possible, that in a seage is necessarie; as knoith our Lord God, who keep your highnes in long life and like prosperitie; loulie besekynge the same to pardon me, that I now use my secretaries help, myn hond not hable to performe hys accostomid office, as shortlie I trust hee shal.

My fortune being to visite Monsieur de Grandvele in Fryew, I meat there with Cardinal Caracheus, that very gladlie salutid me, & demaundid, how your grace did fare, makynge a syngular great prayse to me of your wisdom, gudness of nature, and like humanite, experimentid sumtime at hys being in your realme, as collector to hys mastre, to whom he hertilie besought God to send a reconciliation of your partie; that shewid me, that hee was in desperation of peace, considering that his Collega Trenouls had not, according to promise, written to hym syns his departeur toward France. And wheras I yet said, that I trustid that peace shuld succede by his prudence, he made me awnsuere, that he perceivid not how it shuld cum to pass: adding, that as his commission extendid no ferder, so trusted hee to obtaine licence of themprour to returne. As then hee toke hys licence, and thens conveid by see. Antonio de Leva ys thorowout all thys long journey caried upon mens sholders.

Most noble prince, to recyte vnto you the wisdom of this prince, or the conduit of this hys enterprize,

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you wold not a litle marvel. So that, setting apart hys manifold other verteus qualites in this onlie thinge, me thinkith that hee is the prince that Luce in his evangelie touchith, that cowntith to what effect his war may cum unto, before he beginnith the same; unless that otherwise hee bee compellid to send for peace to hys dishonor, nothing hable to performe that, that hee had begone. His ingins of war of all sorts in great copie ar caried continuallie with him, with myners, as wel for that affor, as in all this our journey, ready to make our way, where it is not passable; provision by se of wyne, bisquiet, meal, salt, meats and corn, from al quarters, in such abundance, as hath not byn sene, cumith to meat hym in every . . . . . by the costes, whereby he rytchith his camp.

*(The rest is defaced.)*

Your most faithful bedisman,

& like assurid servant,

RYCHARDUS PACE, Priest.

From Luca, in the Province,

5. Augusti.

## NUMBER XII.

Cardinal Wolsey to Mr. Secretary Pace, the king's ambassador in Italy, to treat with the Venetians to ayd the emperour against the French, attempting to recover Milain & Naples.

*To my loving frende Master Richard Pace, the king's principal secretary.*

*Master Secretary,*

MSS.  
D. G. H.  
Eq.

I COMMEDE me unto you in my most herty maner. Sens my last writing unto you, I have receyved divers & sundry your letters, to the king's highnes, & to me directed, bering date as wel in Mantua & Verona, as also in Trent, after your arrival there; wherof the last be of the xxiiii<sup>th</sup> of De-



cember. In your said letters ye have ful discretely advertised the king's highnes & me, of the occurrants in those parties, with such matiers as the Duke of Burbon hath desired you to write on his behalf; for which your diligence the kings grace geveth unto you herty thanks, like as I do the semblable.

Advertising you, that the kings grace by sundry wayes hathe lately be advertised, that the Frenshe king, lying himself with the most part of his armie stil at the siege of Pavia, hath sent & avaunced, or intendeth shortly to send forthe ons again, the Duke of Albany towards Naples; after whom it was first said, that the said viceroy of Naples, & others themperors folks, leving Lody, were passed & took their way thiderward, for defence of the same: and that the Frenshe king therupon had sent after them the Countie Saint Pole, with other good captaines & bands of men, thinking to interclude themperors folks betwene both companies. Afterwarde, by letters sent from the Duke of Milan, of the xxii<sup>th</sup> of December, to his ambassador resident with the king's highnes, the same, amonges other newes perceyved, that in cace the French king shulde send any power towards Naples, or make visage so to do, for any policie or crafte, thinking therby to cause the said viceroy to abandonne Italy, & to attende the defence of Naples, the said French king shulde be gretely frustrate of his owne opynyon. For the said viceroy wolde in nowise leve Italy, but assone as he shulde have his power unite, experiment batail with the said French king. Which thing to here & understond, the king's highnes was veray joyeows & glad, commending & lawding gretely the said viceroys grete vertue, wisdom, & good conduyte in this behalf. This matier is of grete & high importance, upon the successes wherof be like to depend many things in Cristendome, & particulerly in the kings affaires.

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Specially considering, that if the French king, causing themperours folks thus by litle and litle to abandonne the duchie of Mylain, & contynuing his

enterprises, shulde fortune to have also the overhande in Naples, it were like that he sholde therby be so elated, that he wolde be more obstinate, & ferder from good wayes of peax, then ever he was bifore.

On thother partie, if his armye thus divided, themperours folks, and such as be bounde to take his part in Italy, may be conjoynd togedre in tyme, & do their dutie, according to thair bands & conventions; it were not unlike but that the Frenche king & his armye may be brought unto a grete extremyte, & peradventure reapente this his enterprise. But if by remysse dealing of such as shulde put their hande to the remedy of the matier, the imperialls shall not be puissant inoughe to withstand the malice of their enemyes; than were it better that some politique waye wer taken & provided in tyme, rather then to put bothe the duchie of Mylain & also the realme of Naples, into extreme daungier & peril. For which cause, the king's highnes, mynding alwaies to pretermyt nothing, that his grace may do for the furtherance of the common affaires, seing & perceyving the matiers of Italye to bee so intriked, as they now be, & not without apparance of grete dangier, hath at this tyme signified unto the Bishop of Bathe, to bee shewed unto the poores holynes, what is thought here to be the best means for the remedy of the same: like as by the copie of my letters sent at this tyme to the said Bishop of Bathe, being herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve at good length; mentionyng amonges other things thre wayes & devices, by the which it is thought here that a remedy may be provided to the grete inconvenientes in my said letters specified, & apparant to ensue in cace the Frenche king shuld attayne the realme of Naples. On is, batail to bee stryken with the Frenche king, suffring the said duke to pass in to Naples. The other is, an enterprise to be made upon the Duke of Albanye & his company, in his passage towards Naples. And the thirde is, a compromysion to bee made of such partys, as either themperour or the Frenche king

have in the Duchie of Mylain, into the poope's hands *per viam depositi*: as by the said copy ye shal perceyve at grete length. By tenour wherof ye shal, amonges other things, understande, that for the better furtherance of these three things, the kings highnes promiseth, that ye shal repaire in diligence unto Venece, there to sollicite & procure the spedy avauncing & setting forth of their armye, to joyne with that of themperours, against the common enemye.

Wherefore his highnes & I desire you to take some payne herin, seing the good effects that may ensue of the same; &, amonges other things, to persuade unto the Veneceans, upon such grete & notable considerations, as be mentioned in the said copie, towching the daungiers immynent unto al Christendome, fermely & constantly to stik & adhere at this tyme unto themperours partie, & not to suffre themself to be brought in to suche dangier as they are like to be, if the Frenche king were lorde of Naples & Mylain; who, they may be wel assured, wolde be no quiete neybour unto them; ne they shulde, withoute their grete trouble & perill, conveniently resist, or withstande any his pleasures or commaundements. The example wherof, & of his entente towards that seigniorye, if he may have an overhande in Italy, appered at suche tyme as the late Frenche king compassed & brought about the grete liege of the poope, emperour, hymself, & the King of Spayne than being, with other grete princes against the same.

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And in this matier ye shal the better animate & encourage them, if ye say secretly to the duke & other of the counsail, that it is not unknown unto the kings highnes, how inhumainely the Spanyards have ordred them selves in Italy, geving therby cause & occasion to such as favour themperour's parte to declyne from the same, & rather to desire & suffer the Frenche men there, not being so cruel, than the Spanyards. But ye shal say, that the matiers wel proceeding at this tyme, the kings highnes trusteth to do so moche with themperour, that he shal geve the

investiture of the Duchie of Mylain clerely unto the duke of the same; wherby Italy may be dellyvered both from the Frenche men & also the Spanyards. And thus by the best meanes ye can to further, by al the wayes to you possible, the exclusion of the Frenche king from this enterpryse of Naples, & the strengthening themperours folks, to resist him in the Duchie of Mylain.

Wherunto if the Veneceans wol not condescende, like as they shal be partyners of the peril, the French king having such a foot in Italy, that he may commaunde them at his pleasure, so thei shal be of the first that shal suffre & put their state & domynion, with the rest of Christendome, in trouble, hazarde & dangier.

Ye shall say also unto them, that if thei breking their pacts, bands & convencions with themperour, shulde geve unto the Frenche king commodite to attayne the realme of Naples, the kings highnes cannot repute them as themperours frends, but rather his enemyes; wherof, in that cace, as God forbede, shulde grow and ensue also cause of enemyte bitwene the kings grace & them. In the declaration wherof ye must handle them in doulce & pleasant maner; putting them in remembrance of the grete intelligence & frendship that hath of long season continued bitwene this realme and that seignorie; which to be discontinued in their defaulte, the kings highnes, for the grete favour that his grace bereth to the same, wolde be right loth to see; and the point of enemyte bitwene the king & them not to be spoken of, onles then ye shal see a desperation in their proceeding.

It shal also be wel done, that at some convenient tyme, as of your self, ye persuade unto the Duke of Venece, that these grete things depending, touching as wel the contynuance of the good intelligence bitwene the kings grace & them, as other matiers of weighty importance, concernying the state of their seigniorye; it shal be right expedient for conducing of things to the better trayne & purpose, that they



have an ambassadour here resident, by whose meanes the matiers may be directed to moche the more perfection, as by their wisdomes they can wel consider. And what answer shalbe made unto you, upon al the premisses, with other occurants & successes there, I pray you to advertise me with diligence, from tyme to tyme, as the kings & my special trust is in you. And thus right hertely fare ye well. At my place besides Westminster, the xvi<sup>th</sup> day of Januar.

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Anno 1524

Your lovyng frende,  
T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> EBOR.

## NUMBER XIII.

*Instructions by the King, for Mr. Pace, sent to the state of Venice.*

*Henry R.*

INSTRUCTIONS yeven by the kings highnes to his trusty & right welbiloved counsailor & chief secretarye, Mr. Richard Pace, conteygnyng such charges & matiers as he shal disclose to the duke & senate of Venyce, or to other having principal auctoritie in the governance of the bien publique of that dominion.

MSS.  
D. G. H.  
Eq.

Furste, after the king's cordial recommendations, & deliveraunce of his letters credentials, the kings said secretary shal say, that the kings highnes, calling to his remembraunce thauncient amities & perfite intelligence, that hath bene established & perseverauntly contynued, as wel betwixt the kings most noble progenitours, & that dominion of Venice, as also betwixt his highnes & theym for the tyme of his noble reigne, not oonly tendering & advauncyng al their causes & matiers, redounding to their honours & suerties, as his awne propers; & entertaing al & singler their oratours, inercaunts & subgiets, reasorting to his realme with honour, favour, & al courtaise; but also for the singler zeale & bene-

volent affection that his grace hath borne, & berithe to the said dominion, willing them, as his right dere frendes, to be participaunt of al commodities & benefites, that mought ensue unto theym of, & by the treaties, confederations & conventions of peax, amitie & intelligence heretofore passed & concluded, betwixt his grace, & any other outward prince or princess, hath alwayes expressly comprehended theym in al & singler such treaties. Which comprehension they, as right noble & provident personages, have not oonely accepted thankfully, shewing unto the kings subgiетts, reasorting to their dominions, al humanitie & gentilnes, but also sundry tymes sent their autentique letters under their seal of lede, contaynyng thacceptation of the said comprehension; & specially now of late upon the treaties concluded at London, betwixt the kings highnes, themperour & the French king, as princes contrahents. Which amitie his grace trusted shuld have bene permanent & perdurable, remembring the corroboration therof by treaties of aliaunce, & also mutuel entervieu with profite, acqueyntaunce & familier communication betwixt theym, over and aboue the corporal oother, seals and subscriptions, made & passed on boothe parties.

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But how dishonorably the said Frenshe king hath ordered & demeaned hymself, aswel to the kings highnes his reame, countreis, dominions & subgiетts; to themperour, being oon of the principal contrahents in the said treatie, & to diverse others, comprehended therein, in violating the same, the king thought right expedient to intimate & notifie unto the said Venicians, as to his right dere frendes; to the intent that his inconstant, disloyal and dishonourable demeanure, being to theym perfutely knowen, they may ordre theym self unto hym, as wel according to tharticle of thair comprehension, conteygned in the said treatie of London, & by thair letters patents accepted, as to take special regard how they joyne theym selfis with that prince, which not being con-

tented with his awne limits, contynually deviseth & studieth how to disturb the peax of Christendome: for his private proffit encroching upon the dominions of the moste part of al Christen princes, wherein their parte lyeth depely, if the said Frenshe king mought establishe his dominions, auctoritie & puyissaunce in Italie.

And furste, Whereas amonges other articles con-teigned in the said treatie, it is provided, that in caas any of the principal contrahents shuld be invaded or disturbed by thoder, the prince not making invasion being required by the partie invaded, was & is bound to declare hymselff enemye, & to geve an assistance ayenist the invasour: wherupon themperour, pretending hymselff not oonly to be invaded by the Frenshe kings capitains & armye in his reame of Naverre, but also disturbed in his possessions, dominions & countries, by Robert De la Merche, & others, by the said Frenshe kings procuring, ayding & assisting with men & money, hath diverse & many tynes required the kings highnes to declare hymself enemye unto the said Frenshe king, & to give ayde & assistance to hym ayenist the said Frenshe king: howbeit the kings highnes bering singler zeale as wel to the establishing of good peax in Christendome, as to the continuance of mutuel amitie & amicable intelligence betwixt hym & the said Frenshe king, rather practised the wayes & meanes to reduce themperour & hym to concorde & unitie, then by his declaration, or geving assistance, to norishe & continue werre & hostilitie. Wherupon his grace sent the moost Reverend Fader in God the Legate Cardinal of Yorke, as his lieutenante to Calais, not oonly to here the contraversies & questions with other grieffs and differences, depending in variaunce betwixt themperour & the said Frenshe king, but also amicably to compoude the same by summe covenable peax, treatie or abstinence of werre.

And albeit many things were alledged on themperours partie at the dyet at Calais, proving the invasion

p. 28.

to procede of the Frenshe king, being justified & approved by sundry instructions & letters signed with his awne hand; which his chauncellor & counsail there assembled coude not avoyde by any probable grounds; yet the kings grace, folowing continually the waies of peax, willed his said lieutenant not oonly to forbere his declaration, but also to continue the said dyet, to thintent that by ferther labour, means & mediation, summe goode conclusion mought be taken in pacifying the said variaunce. Wherupon the said legate sundry tymes, after his return to the kings presence, sent his messingers with letters & instructions to the Frenshe kings moder, for bringing the differences to summe goode treux by her charitabe meanes & mediacions. Howbeit, though faire & pleasaunt wordes were geven for the tyme, yet by delaies the matier was alwaies tracked, & put over, without any fruteful determination; and in the meane season the Frenshe king, contrarye to his oothe & promyse, not oonly sent the Duke of Albanye into Scotlande, in contempt of the king, being supreme lorde of that lande; which duke pretendithe hymselff heire apparaunt to the crowne there; whereby the yong king, nepheu to the kings grace, was, & is, in extreme daungier of deethe, or deposition; but also to invade the kings reame, & dishonour the kings suster, by separation of her from her lieful houseband, & dampnably to contracte matrimonye with her, wherein there is now vehement presumpcion by sending therle of Anguishe, her said houseband, into Fraunce, there to be deteigned prisoner. And yet with this not contented, the same Frenshe king hath not oonly restrayned the payment of the kings money, to the contentation wherof he is bound by his oothe under the censures of the church, though the same hath bene often demaunded on the kings behalf; but also continually enterttaineth the kings rebellious subgiet, Richard de la Pole. And over this, albeit the Frenshe king graunted his letters of save conduyte under his signe & grete seal, to al & singler



the kings subgiets, reasorting to Burdeux, or any other part of his dominions, frely & surely to come, ramaigne & retorne, with their goods, shippes & merchaundises without arrest, disturbaunce, inquietation, or impechement, yet he not regarding his promise, ne save conduyte, subdainly, without declaration or monicion, arrested the persons, goods, shippes & merchaundises of the kings said subgiets at Burdeux & eliswhere; the like wherof hath not bee harde doon of any Christien prince, & skaunte of an infidele. And over this, his subgietts, by his permission and sufferaunce, have cruelly & dispitefully spoyled & robbed the kings lieges on the see, under colour of peax & amitie : refusing to make any due restitution, reformation, or redresse for the same.

Upon which causes, groundes & considerations, the kings highnes hath not oonely declared hymself enemye to the Frenshe king, but also notified unto hym, that from hensfurthe he woll take part with themperour ayenist hym with al his force & power : declaring also al maner treaties & convencions heretofore passed betwixt his grace & the said Frenshe king, void, frustrate & of noon effecte in his defaulte.

By the premisses it is open & manifest, how disloially the said Frenshe king hath violated his oothe, treaties, conventions, safe conduytes & promises, to the kings highnes : by reason wherof his grace was, & is enforced not oonely to declare hymself enemye unto hym, as aboue; but also in joynnyng with themperour, to do unto the same Frenshe king, his landes, dominions and subgietts, al the annoy-saunce, dammage & prejudice, with his strength and puissaunce, that he can. Inasmoche therfore as the said Venecians have hitherto taken parte with the said Frenshe king, in geving to hym aide & assistance ayenist themperours armye in Italie, the kings grace thought right expedient, as a faithful frende, to geve advertisement unto theym, that enmitie standing betwixt the kings highnes & the same Frenshe king,

p. 23.

they shuld & owe, not oonely forbere to geve ayde & assistance unto the same Frenshe king ; but also upon requisition to theym made, on the king & themperours parties, to declare theym selffs enemies unto hym, according to tharticle of the treatie by theym accepted & approved. Which letters of requisition the kings highnes now sendithe to his said secretary, to be delivered unto the duke & senate, or thoder governours ; advertiseing the same his secretary, that themperour at this tyme sendith also his seniblable letters of requisition to be delivered by his ambassador, thinking right expedient that they boothe - - - - - togeders shulde jointly deliver the said letters of requisicion to the same Venicians, not oonely declaring unto theym the hoole circumstance of al the said Frenshe kings variaunte demeanure, according to the premisses, with theeffecte of such matiers, as be comprised in the kings letters of requisicion ; but also requiring theym to absteigne & forbere to ayde, favour & assist the said Frenshe king ; & according to the said article to declare theymselffs enemyes unto hym. Which thing of good congruence they cannot refuse to doo, if they intende & purpose to lyve in peax & amitie with the king & themperour. For remembring the Frenshe king to be enemye, & in hostilitie to & with theym boothe, if the Venicians shulde incline to his partie by geving ayde & assistance unto hym, they expressely by thair acts shulde declare theymselffs ayenist the said king & emperour. And if they shal say, that they woll remaigne neutrall, without geving assistance or making declaration to the oon partie or thoder, than it may be answered, that they observe not the purporte of tharticle, which is to declare theymselff enemye to the invasour after the letters of requisition. For it is not to be doubted, but if they had bene invaded by the Frensh king, or any other, they would furthwith have required aide & assistance of the kings highnes & themperour ayenist such invasion, according to tharticle ; which coude not have

bene denyed unto theym. Wherfore if they in caas semblable, being required, shuld refuse to declare theynselfs enemies to the Frensh king, and to forbere to geve ayde & assistance ayenist him, in this caas they may not loke hereafter to have any succours of the king or themperour by vertue of the treatie of London, or any other like comprehension, which by such acts they expressly violate & renounce.

And thus finally they must of necessity either declare theynselfs ayenist the Frenshe king, or else expressly renounce the benefit of their comprehension; and not oonely be reputed as infractours of their promises in that behalf, but also fal consequently in enmitie with the poope, the king, themperour, & al their confederates & alies; which mought be daungerous unto theym, as of their grete wisdomes they can right wel ponder & consider. Wheras declaring theym selff enemyes to the Frenshe king, according to tharticle by theym approved & accepted, & contynuyng in amitie with the poope, the king, & the emperour, it shal not ly in the powers of any other to annoye theym.

The said secretary shal also say, that noo amitie or good intelligence can contynue betwixt the king, themperour, & theym, if they accomplish not the purporte of the said requisition. And seing the Frenshe men now to be expelled out of Italie, there is no cause why they shulde make difficultie therin, & of their retorne again they nede not fere; considering how they shal be occupied, aswel on thisside, as on the frontiers of Spaigne, by puisaunt armies, as wel of the kings highnes, as of themperours. Wherfore it is most expedient for theym to incline to the king & themperour's partie, in avoyding the daungier of hostilitie, which may ensue unto theym by this refusal, wherby their state mought be put in daungier.

The premisses considered, it may be said, that it is more than necessarye, that the said Venicians not oonely declare theym selff as aboue, but also take &

p. 30.

conclude with diligence summe perfite peax & amitie with themperour; considering that the treux betwixt themperour & theym shal with in brief tyme expire; & that it is pretended & alledged by the said emperour, that they on their parte have violatē & broken the said treux: wherein the kings highnes is agreable to be a mediator after his best maner, for their honour & utilite; endeavouring hymself to mitigate thextreme & excessive demaunds of themperour, if any such shal fortune to be. Which thing wolde be expedily advaunced by sending large & ample commissions, with sufficient instructions to their ambassadours, resident aswel with the king as with themperor; for the delay & tracking of this matier may do moche harme, & prejudice sundry wises.

And in caas any motion, by way of complainte or doliaunce, shal be made unto you by the said Venecians, for discharging or exonerating their galeis with their goods & merchaundises, within the kings realme, thinking injurye to be done unto theym, considering that the same galeis came hider under promise & assurance, as they affirme; the kings said secretary shal say, That themperour, at his arrival into the kings reame, perceiving the said galeis to be right mete & commodious to be rigged and prepaired for his more assured conveyance into Spaigne, made especial request & instaunce unto the kings highnes, for the discharging, prepairing, & rigging of the same galeis for the said purpose. And al beit the kings grace, remembring the goode amitie & intelligence hiderto contynued betwixt the kings highnes & the said Venecians, was right loothe so to do, yet his grace being credibly advertised sundry wises, that the Frenshe king was not oonely determined to intercepte & take the said galeis, with al the goodes & merchaundises in the same, but also to prepair & use theym in the werres ayenist the king & the said emperour, was summewhat moved to put theym in suertie, in avoyding such inconveniences; especially for that themperour was surely advertised, that the



said Venitians had of new inforced & furnished their armies in Italie, to ayde & assist the Frenshe king for thattempting of such things in Italie, as be from him recovered to the use of the Duke of Mylayn, & others, by themperours army. For which cause the king thought right expedient to restrayne the same galeis unto such tyme as his grace mought be advertised, how they woll ordre theymselff in the declaration ayenist the Frenshe king, according to the requisition now to theym made, as wel by the kings highnes, as themperour joyntly; which if they folowe in declaring theymselff ayenist Fraunce, then shal the amitie & good intelligence betwixt the king & theym stande in good strenth & vigour: wheras in refusing so to do, & contynuyng in taking the Frenshe kings partie, they not oonly shal renounce the benefit of their comprehension, but also expressly by their acts declare theymselffs enemies unto the kings highnes, & the said emperour; and in that caas, how the king hath cause to entreate their subgiets, galeis, & goods, within his ream, they of their wisdomes can best conside.

p. 31.

The said secretary shal also say, that albeit the kings grace mynded to use the said galeis for the purposes before touched for a brief tyme, which shulde not have bene gretely to their prejudice, yet the patrones & others, that have the rule and governaunce of the said galeys, so inhumanely & ungoodly demeaned theymselff, by excessive demaundes, with exclamations & other contumelious words, that the king, being otherwise purveyed, thought moore expedient to forbere the use of theym, than to be in their daungiers. The premisses considered, the said galeis be restrayned here, til such tyme as the kinges grace shalbe advertised from you, what the said Venicians shal intend to do, as wel in thaccomplishment of the recognition, now by the king & themperour joyntly made, as in declaring theymselff enemies to the said Frenshe king, according to tharticle of comprehension: which thing if they refuse to do, & take the

Frenshe kings partie, the king and themperour have sufficient cause to take theym as enemyes, like as they intend to do accordingly.

In consideration of the premisses, necessary it is that ye, with al diligence possible, not oonely endeavour your selff to have aunswer of theym, in al & singler the premisses, & to know their resolute myndes in every poynt of these instructions, wherby they must of necessity be inforced either to declare themselff for the king & the emperor, in which caas the amitie shal endure, & the galeis, with the goods & merchaundizes, be in suretie; or els, in taking the Frenshe kinges partie, to be in hostilitie, & their subgietts, galeis, & goods, in daungier. And so may ye shew unto theym.

Finally, the kings said secretary, after he shal have advertised the kings highnes of such aunswer as shalbe made unto him by the said Venecians, shal remaigne & make his abode at Venice, til he shalbe advertised of the kings pleasure in that behalf.

#### NUMBER XIV.

*The Bishop of Bath & Sir Anthony Brown to the Cardinal, from Paris; concerning the Cardinal's embassie to the French king, & meeting him at Amiens.*

MSS.  
D.G.II.Eq. AFTER OWR most humbyl recommendation: It may lyke your grace to understond, that the fyrst day of Julye we receyvyd your grace is lettres off the xxvii off the last monythe; & immediatlye we roode to the coorte, which lyithe styl at Saynet Denyse. And at owr fyrst commying thether, we sent your grace is letter to the king by Robartet; who shewed vs that he thowght that we coud not convenyentlye speke with the kyng that day. After dyner, we spake with my ladye, & declaryd unto hyr your grace is pleasure concernyng your setting forwards; wherin she an-

sweryd vs, that in no wyse the king hyr sonne wyl, that your grace shal passe the cite of Amyas. She saythe, that the kyng her sonne, as she trustythe, is past al jopardye off this fevyr; & shal not fayll to meet with your grace at Amyas, wher, God willyng, & none other impediment chanceying, he wilbe by the latter end off this monythe. We showid hyr how glade your grace was to take payns, & to travayll your bodye, rather than the kyng her sonne shold put his parson in any danger, or put off his necessarye busines. She hartilye thankid your grace for your good-will, & said, she trustyd that ther shold be no soche danger. As touching the tyme, by cause we conjecturyd by soche journaies as we recounned meet for your grace to make, that it wold be nyghe the end of Julye by foor your grace coud wel arriff at Amyas, we made no more stickyng therin, knowing ryght well, that for a day or twayn, more or lesse, they will not styke heer to advance themselfe, as they shall see the progresse of your grace is jornaye. p. 32.

As touchyng the requisition to be made joyntlye by the kinges & the French orators, off the emperour in Spain, for the redress of soche injuries & owtragies, as detestablye hath been shewyd and done to the pope, & the see apostolique, she lykythe that overture very well; & said, that the denyall theroff, & the accumulation of that matter, with other, shal justify the intymation of warre, that shall ensue, by fore God & man; & willyd Robartet to resort unto us for instructions therin, of that that mowght welbe wrytyn to their ambassators in Spain for that purpose; & we for his instruction have showyd him what your grace hath wryten to the kinges highnes ambassators in Spayn; & he saythe that the same shalbe wrytyn to the kyng his masters. My lady spake also verye sore words, saying, That Christen princes coud not of their honor soffyr their head, Christis vicar, to be kept in servitude & captivite; and, that there coud be no cause wherfore a prynce myght of his own

auctorite put a pope to his rawnson, or kepe him in captivite: Finally, that prynces shold withdraw their obedience from a pope being in captivite; with many soche wordes, which we said shold be good matter to devise and treat upon at your grace is comyng hither.

As touching the confirmation of the last treaty concluded by Mons. de Tarbe\*, she said, that our demand was reasonable; & that we shold reasort unto the chancellor therfore, who shold depeache it out of hand.

At our return unto Paris, we went unto the chancellor; who is answer was, that it shold be done; but he wold spek fyrst with the kyng. Which shold be as this day, & so speed it, & send it us.

p. 33. My lady also shewyd us, that Mons. de Lotrek† is departyd, & right wel trymmyd and furnishid off al thynges, that be necessary for his feat. As for tydings of Italy, heer is nothyng renuyd, but that the Chancellor of Spayn‡ is past thorowe Piemont, on his jorney to Rome wards. Thus the Almighty God preserve your grace. From Paris, the ii day of Julye.

Your grace is faythful servants,

JO. BATHONIENS.

ANTHONE BROWNE.

Reverendissim<sup>o</sup> in Christo Patri Thomæ Ebor,  
Archiepiscopo, Cardinali, &c.

\* He was lately ambassador from the French king into England; by whom a match was agreed upon between the king's daughter, the Lady Mary, & K. Francis, or his son, the Duke of Orleans.

† He was a famed soldier, & general of the army in Italy against the emperor.

‡ Going in embassy from the emperor to the pope.



## NUMBER XV.

*William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Wolsey; in behalf of his jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, which the cardinal's officers assumed.*

PLEASYTH it your grace to understond, that I am informyd by the frends of Jane Roper, wiff & executrice to her late husbond John Roper, that she is called to appear afore certain of your graces commissaries, in your chappel at York-place; for to take upon her as executrice, or els to refuse, or to be repellyd as none executrice, & the wyl of the said John Roper to be taken as no wyl, nor she to be taken as executrice. So it is as I am informyd, that this testamentary cause was callyd afore such commissaries as were deputed to examine soche testamentary causes as concernyd the Prerogative. Wher by your graces commissaries & mine, the party thynketh that she might have had indifferent justice. And now by special labour and sinister meanys to be callyd before other commissaries of the Prerogative, she, & some other of her counsel, writyth to me, that she is otherwys orderyd then according to good justice.

Cleopatra,  
F. 2.  
Fol. 210.

It is written to mee also, that in case your grace should call al testamentary causes to special commissaries, that finally the jurisdiction of the Prerogative should be extinctyd; and also al testamentary causes shal only depend upon your graces pleasure, & no mannys wil to take any effect, but as it shal please your grace.

I take God to my judge, I write none otherwyse unto your grace, then others have written or spoken to my face. Her frynds saith also, that she desireth nothing, but to be admitted as executrice to her said husbond. And in case there be any thing to be reformyd in the will of the said John Roper, she is therwith contented as the law and good conscience shal require.

p. 34. I would your grace knew what rumor & obloquy is both in these partyes, & also in London, that no testaments can take effect otherwise then your grace is content. And it hath openly be shewyd me by divers men, that it is a great trouble, vexation, & inqyetyng to be callyd afore your graces commissaries & mine; & also to be callyd afore your graces special commissaries in your said chappel, or otherwhere at your graces pleasure. And many saith, that it is a great oversight in me, that I would make soche a composition with your grace, which should turn so many men to trouble and vexation. I take God to my judge, I write none otherwise unto your grace, then it hath been shewyd to my face, or else written unto me by letters; for I find your g. so loving to me & to mine, that I do hide nothing from your g.

Finally, I beseech your g. as hartily as I can, that it may please you, that this matter may be deferryd tyl after Easter, at which tyme I shal wait upon your g. & I doubt not that by meanys of your g. and my waiting on your g. al inconvenience in this behalf may be eschued, & the partyes more shortly releved, then by the process of the law. I am, & alway shal be glad, that your g. use al thyng at your pleasure: but I am sure your g. wul do nothyng contrary to the composition sealed with your g<sup>s</sup> seal, and subscribed with your g<sup>s</sup> hand, concerning the Prerogative, which my church tyme out of mind hath be in possession of. I write plainly to your g. for I know right well your g. wyl be best content with truth & plain dealyng, or else I would not be so bold to write unto your g. in this maner, as God knowyth, who ever preserve your g. From Charing, the xxiii<sup>th</sup> day of February.

At your grace's commandement,

WILL<sup>M</sup>. CANTUAR.

## NUMBER XVI.

*Another letter from the said archbishop to the said cardinal, of the same import.*

PLEASYTH it your good g. to understond, I am Cleopatra,  
informyd that your g. intendency to interrupt me in F. 2.  
the use of the Prerogative, in the which my predeces- fol. 175.  
sors & I, in the right of my church of Canterbury,  
hath been possessed by privilege, custome & prescrip-  
tion, tyme out of mind; and for the interruption of  
the same, your g. is mindyd, as I am informyd, to  
depute Dr. Alan; which if your g. should so do,  
consylderyng that not only al my officers of my  
courts of the Arches & the Audience, but also the  
commissaries of my dioces of Kent, & I myself, not  
only in matters of suite of instance of partys, but also  
in cases of correction, depending before me & them,  
be contynually inhibityd by your officers; I should  
have nothyng left for me & my officers to do; but  
should be as a shadow & image of an archbishop  
and legate voyd of authority and jurisdiction. Which  
would be to me perpetual reproch, & to my church  
a perpetual prejudice.

Wherefore, in as moche as I trust verily in your  
great goodnes, that your g. would not be so ex-  
treme against me & the right of my church before  
namyd, I beseech your g. the premisses consideryd, to  
deferr & respect this matter, tyl I may have commu-  
nication in thys behalf with your g. when it shal  
please you at your leisure. And your pleasure  
known, I wil be ready to give attendance on your  
g.; beseechyng you also to give credence to my  
chapellane, Mayster Wellis, this berer, in soche  
matters he wil show your g. on my bealf. At my  
manor of Croydon, the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of March.

p. 35.

At your gracc's commandement,

WILL<sup>M</sup>. CANTUAR.

## NUMBER XVII.

The confession of John Tyball, a lollard; charged with heresy.

*Confessio Johannis Tyball de Bumstede ad Turrim, facta & recognita per eundem Johannem coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Dno. Cuthberto, London. episcopo, in capella infra palaciam London. xxviij. die mensis Aprilis, Anno Dni. mill<sup>o</sup> quingen<sup>mo</sup> xxviij. Quam postea signavit*

Foxii MSS.  
E Regist.  
Cutbert.

EXAMYNED, he saithe, that abowght vij or viij yeres past, he had certaine bookes of the iiij Evangelistes in Englishe, of one holie John, & certayne Epistles of Peter and Paule; which he brent the same day at night, as he saithe, that Sir Richard Fox (a priest) was tached. And so in continuans of tyme, by reading of the said bookes, and especially by a chapter of Poule which he wrot to the Corynthyos, which he doth not now remember, fel into those errors and herysies. That sum tyme he thowght, that in the blessed sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Christie, but bread & wine, and done for a remembraunce of Christes passion. And he thowght & believyd, that a prieste had no power to consecrate the body of Christe.

Also, he confesseth, that he hath saide, affirmed & belevyd, that every prieste and bishop owght to have a wiff, upon the chaitour of Poule, where he saithe theis wordes, "Every bisshop ouwgt to be husbond of one wif, & to bryng forthe childern."

Also, he saithe, that he hathe sayd, affirmyd & belevyd, that yt was as good for a man to confesse himself alone to God, or els to any other layman, as to a prieste, upon the saiyng of Saynt James, where he saythe, *Shew your synnes one to another*; which error he shewid & tawght Robert Faire, of Bumstede abowght a twelve monethe past.

Robert  
Faire.

Also, he saythe, that he hathe thowght, that prist-



hode was not necessary: for he thowght that every layman myght mynister the sacramentes of the churche, as well as any priste.

Also, he confessithe, that pilgremages to images were not profitable; & that men shold not worshippe or knele to images in the churche; nor set up candles or lights before them; for they be but stockes & stones. p. 36.

Also, he saythe, that he hath sumtyme doubted, whether the pope or bysshopp had power to graunt pardon. For sumtyme he thowght that they had power, & sumetyme he thowghte the contrarie, becaus they had so myche mony for it. And he sayd, he thowghte, that yt were better, that their myters, crosses, ringes & other precious stones should be gyven to poore & nedey pepull, then so to were them; according to the saynge of Poule, where he saythe, "Were ye no gold, silver, nor perlls, ne precious stones."

Also, he saythe, that sayntes, as Peter, Poule and other, be in hevyn: but as for other soules of good men, which departithe this world, he thinkithe, that they go not to hevyn before the general resurrection; but be in some place of joye and plesure, except they be helpid to hevin by good prayer. And the sowles of synners & yvell doers go to purgatory; and there remayne tyll they be delyveryd by prayers.

Also, he saythe, that abowght a twelve moneth agon he did reason & dispute with Sir Richard Fox, Sir Rich.  
Fox. that ther was no purgatory; & did hold the same for a season. Howbeit he sayth, he thowght that there was a purgatory ordayned.

Also, he hath sayd & affirmed, that fasting was not profitable for a man; so that he did absteine himself from synne.

Also, he saythe, that he thowghte, that the water of the see, & other rennyng water to be of as moche power and vertue as the holy water: movyd by theis reason, that when Criste made the worlde, & the water and other thynges, he *blessyd* them; which blessing he thowght to be sufficient. And so likewise, he thowghte, that the blessing of Criste to be

sufficient for brede, & (for) al other ceremonies of the churche.

Ebb alias  
Hacker.

Furthermore he saythe, that by the space of iiij yeres past, old Father Hacker, alias Ebb, resorted to this respondentes house, & dyd commyn together of al the forsayd articles. Also he saythe, that afterward he fell in hand with Sir William Stryngar and Sir Arthur, parishe pristes of Bumstede; to brynge them into the hereysies & errours afore-sayd; and reasonyd uppon scripture diverse tymes with them for the same intent: for he thowghte, that yf he might bring a priste once into his learning & heresies, he were suer and strong enowghe. Howbeit he saythe, for al his labour and reasoning with them he did perseve, that they went abowght to de-ceive him; and therefore he cast them upp.

John  
Smyth.

Also, he saythe, that by the space of iij yeres past, John Smyth, of Bumstede, did likewise resort often to this respondentes company; & this respondent to hym; which did commyn of the sacramentes of thaulter, & of other articles before rehersed.

p. 37.

Furthermore, he saythe, that abowght ij yeres agon he companyed with Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstede, and shewid hym al his bookys that he had; that is to say, the New Testamente in Englishe, the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in Englishe; which he had of John Pykas, of Colchester; and a book expoundyng the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave Maria*, & the *Credo*; certaine of Powles Epistoles in Englishe, after thold translation; the iiij Evangelists in Englishe; the which iiij Evangelists & Powles Epistoles he brent, as he sayd before; & the residew he cannot tell wher they be; except Sir Richard Fox, John Hilles, or John Chapman, servantes to Christofer Ravyn, of Wytham, have them. And so in processe of tyme, by reasonyng of thynges, con-tayned in the sayd bookes, & disputyng & instructyng, he browght Sir Richard Fox to his lernyng & opynions.

Also, he saythe, that afterwards, that Sir Richard

Fox was infected with his errors & heresy, this respondent, Sir Rich. Fox, and John Smyth, this last yere went to Colchester-ward; and the first night lay at Mother Beckwythe; and the morrow after dyner, at William Beckwythe; which were both of kynde to this respondent. And thither came old Cristmas, of Bockyng, and another woman with him. And where there were any communicacyon of any articles in the sayd places, or where the sayd Mother Beckwith, William Beckwith, or old Cristmas, be of the same secte, he cannot tell. And afterward they went to Colchester; & souped at John Pycas hous. Wheras they iiij communyd together of many & diverse articles, which he doth not now remember. And at the same nyght lay at Thomas Mathew. Where as William Pykas, in ther chambre, before this respondent, John Smythe, & Sir Rich. Fox, did rehearse by hart a disputation made, betwixt a clerke and a frear.

Mother  
Beck-  
wythe.  
Old Crist-  
mas.

W. Pykas.  
J. Smyth.

Furthermore, he saythe, that in somer last, when he was first in Johnsons house in Boxstede, the sayd Sir Rich. Fox did openlye rede in a booke, called The Wicket, which he had ther, as he belevythe, before this respondent, John Smythe, Johnson & his wif, sometye gyving hering to yt, as he remembrethe; which book the sayd Sir Richard had to Bumstede with him. And afterward, that they red in the same book. A question was movyd by Johnson, or his wyf, as he remembred, of the Father, the Son, and the Holie Gost. The question he cannot tell, ne of the answere made thereunto by Sir Rich. Fox. And he saithe, that he belevythe, that the sayd Johnson and his wif be of the same lernyng & sect. And Johnson is taken for a lernyd man among them. Also, he saithe, that John Pykas, William Pykas, John Gyrling, John Bradelcy, be of the same sect and lernyng. And as for Thomas Mathwes wif he cannot tell.

Johnson de  
Boxtede,  
ejus uxor.

J. Gyrling.  
J. Bradelcy

*Item*, he saithe, that a yere past, or more, he resorted ons to Alice Gardiner, his godmother, to her

Alice Gar-  
dyner.

owne house; which Alice asked this respondent, whether he wold go to Ipwiswiche with her? And this respondent sayd, Nay, Nay. If you have any wast mony, give yt to poore pepull, & tarye at home; for it shal not skylle to go on pilgremages to Ipwiswiche; for there ys money enowghe. To the which answeere sche did not greatly speke ayenst, nor gretly holde withal, as he saythe.

Also, he saythe, that abowght a iij yeres past, he commundyd with Thomas Parker of the Gospellys in Englishe, in the said Thomas Parkers house. And othertwys he cannot tell.

Also, he saythe, Thomas Hilles, taylour; John Chapman; John Wyggan, of Wytham; Robert Fayre and John Smythe, of Bumstede, hath commyned with this respondent in al the forsayd articles; & be of the same sect and lernyng.

p. 38.  
Freer  
Barons.

Furthermore, he saythe, that at Mychaelmasse last past was twelve monethe this respondent & Thomas Hilles came to London to frear Barons, then being at the Freers Augustines in London, to buy a New Testament in Englishe, as he saythe. And they found the sayd freer Barons in his chamber; wheras there was a merchant man reading in a booke, & ij or iij more present. And when they came in, the frear demawnded them from whence they cam; and they said, from Bumstede, and so forth in communication they desyred the sayd freer Barons that thy myght be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his counsel in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he saithe, that the sayd frear Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles & this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have the New Testament. And then farther they shewyed the sayd frear, that one Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was wel entred in ther lernyng; & sayd, that they thowghte to gett hym hole in shorte space. Wherefore they desyryd



the sayd frear Barons to make a letter to hym, that he wold continew in that he had begon: which frear did promyse so to wryte to hym a letter at afternoone, & to gete them a New Testament. And then after that communication, the sayd Thomas Hilles & this respondent shewyd the frear Barons of certayne old bookes that they had: as of iiij Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter & Paule in Englishe; which bookes the sayd frear dyd litle regard, and made a twyte of it, & sayd, a poynt for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe; for it is of more cleyner Englishe. And then the sayd frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyshe; for which they payd ijs. ijd. and desyred them that they wold kepe yt close; for he wolde be loth that it shold be knowen, as he now remembreth. And after the delyverance of the sayd New Testament to them, the sayd frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament, in Latyn, to a cymball tynkklyng, & brasse sowndyng. But what farther expositiō he made uppon it, he cannot tell. And then at afternone they fett the sayd letter of the sayd frear; whiche he wrote to Sir Richard, & red that openly before them; but he doth not now remember what was in the same; and so departed from hym; and did never since speke with hym, or write to hym, as he saith.

Also, he saith, that abowght a half year agoe, he delyverid the sayd New Testament to frear Gardynier; which he never had ageyne.

Farthermore he saith, that Elene Tyball his mother, and Alice Tyball his wif, be gyltie in al the foresaid articles; except his wif is not gyltie in the sacrament of thaulter; which both he tawght & instructed.

Item, he saith, that about V yere agon he was confessid of one frear Medow, beyng a Grey Frear of Colchestre, and ther professed, & borne in Essex; which frear, after he herd his confession, desyred

Frear  
Medow in  
apostasia  
existent.

p. 39. the respondent to help hym owte of his religion. And so at last the sayd frear came home to the respondents house, in a secular man his rayment, whose hed this respondent dyd then shave; & kept him in his house by the space of iiij days, or ther about; & then departed from hym, & went to Amersham. And synce this respondent hath herd say, that he is married to a mayden of Colchestre: whose servant or dowhter she is, he cannot tell.

Also, he saith, that he hath communed with Edmund Tyball, and shewid hym his lernyng often tymes.

|  
The mark of John Tyball.

Abjuratio istius sequitur in fol. prox. sequent.

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## NUMBER XVIII.

*The abjuration of Thomas Bowgas, before Tunstal,  
Bishop of London.*

MSS. Foxij.  
Regist.  
Cuthb.

IN the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Bowgas, of the parishe of Saynt Leonards, of the towne of Colchestre, of the diocesse & jurisdiction of London, fuller; before yow, right reverent father in God, Lord Cuthbert, Byshop of London, my ordinary, confessyng & knowlegyng the true, catholycke, & apostolique faith of holy church, intend, by the grace of God, hereafter ever to persever & abyde in the true doctrine of the same: and do detest & abjure al maner of heresies, contrary to the same; and most especially those heresies & articles followyng; wher-uppon I am now detected, vehemently suspected and convicted. That is to say,

That a man shuld have no neede to go on pilgrimage to Saynt Thomas of Canterbury, or to owr Lady of Grace. Also, that there is no other church

of God, but man his consyence. Also, that I had as leve be buried in my own house as in the church. Also, that I wold that our Lady of Grace were in my bakehouse. Also, that when it was demaunded of me, whether it was evyll or wel done, to sett a taper before the sepulchre, I awnswered and said, it was nothing, but to sett a candell before the devyll, for vayne glory of the worlde, as I & many other foolis doth. Also, that if I had the crucifix, the image of our lady, and other sayncts, and crosses set by the way, in a ship, I wold drowne them every one in the see.

And in these articles, and al other, I here expresly consent unto our mother, the holy church; & to the true doctrine of the same: and do knowledge, that whosoever hereafter doth hold or affirme any of thies articles, or eny other heresies, contrary to the determination of holy church, is worthy to be excluded from the communion of the same.

And in case hereafter I do speke, hold, or affirme any of thies foresaid heresies, errors & opinions, or other, contrary to the determination of holy church, which, by the grace of God I intend never to do, I submytt my self unto the correction of my ordinary, accordyng to the holy canons. And for thies my trespasses & offences, I desire you of penaunce; which I promyse by thies holy evangelies, here by me bodyly touched, truly to do, observe & fullfyl. In wittenes whereof, to this my present abiuration, I have subscriybed my name, & set the signe of the crosse.

p. 40.

Be me, THOMAS BOGES, off Colchester.



Quarto die mensis Maij. anno dni. mill<sup>o</sup> quingenti<sup>mo</sup>. xxviiij<sup>o</sup>. in capella infra manerium reverendi patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Coram reverendo in Christo patre & dno. dno.

Cuthberto permissione divina London. Epo. judicialiter, & pro tribunali seden. comparuit præfatus Thomas Bowgas. Quem dns. sepe exhortatus est & admonuit, quatenus se submittat, & errores suos recognoscat. Et tunc dictus Thomas Bowgas se tandem submitit, & asseruit se contentum esse abiurare hereses & opiniones suas; & ad unitatem ecclesie redire, & se submittere. Et deinde legit presentem abiurationem superscriptam, tactis per eum sacrosanctis dei evangelijs, prout continetur in eadem, quam postea manu suâ subscripsit, & signo crucis signavit. Quo facto dictus reverendus pater absolvit dictum Thomam Bowgas à sententia excommunicationis, quam premissorum pretextu incurrerat, in forma juris, prout in scedulam ad tunc per dictum reverendum patrem lecta: ac in fol. cxvij<sup>o</sup> inserta continetur. Et eidem ad sancta dei evangelia jurato injunxit sub pena relapsi, quod die dominico, x<sup>o</sup> viz. die mensis Maij prox. ibid. ante crucem nudus caput, in processione in ecclesia paroch. Sancti Leonardi apud Hitham juxta Colcestriam, ubi parochianus existit, portans, fasciculum lignorum in humero suo. Et functa processione audiet altam missam genibus flexis super gradibus chori sacerd. celebrantem, à principio usq; ad finem ejusdem; & tunc recedat.

Et injunxit eidem, quod non gerat aliquam maliciam sive odium contra testes in hac parte productos; aut eosdem molestet, seu perturbet quoquo modo. Et quod certificet de penitentia per eum peracta, personaliter, vel per literas curati sui, infra xv dies extunc prox. sequent. Et deinde interrogatus per dictum reverendum, dixit se velle subire penitentiam sibi injunctam. Presentibus tunc ibid. venerabili viro Mr<sup>o</sup> Galfrido Wharton cancellario, Willo. Layton regrario principali, dno. Thoma Chambre capellano; necnon Mag. Skelton, Marmaduco Tunstal, generosis; & Georgio Bedyll, Thoma Pilkington, Thoma Dowman, Antonio Tunstal, Nicho. Tunstal, Willo. Westwray, & Humfrido Odyngsalis, literatis, testibus, et cet.



## NUMBER XIX.

*The abjuration of William Bocher, before Cuthbert,  
Bishop of London.*

IN the name of God, Amen. I, William Bocher, MSS. Fox. ubi supra.  
of the parish of Steple Bumstede, of the diocesse &  
jurisdiction of London, plowwright, before the Right  
Reverend Father in God, Lord Cuthbert, Bishop of  
London, my ordinary, opynly confesse, that I have  
belevyd, that in the blessed sacrament of thaulter is  
not the very body of Christ, but done for a remem-  
brance of Cristes passion. Also, that *pardons* can-  
not profit, ne help a man: also, that a man shal  
have no nede to go pilgremage.

Wherefore I do now professe & knowledge, that in  
the blessed sacrament of the aulter is the very body of  
Criste in form of bred. And farthermore in that,  
& al other, do consent to our moder, the holy &  
catholyck church: intendyng hereafter for evermore  
fastly to abyde in the faithe of the same: and do  
detest & abiure thies foresayd heresyces in special;  
and al other in general.

And in case hereafter I shall hold, affirme, or  
beleve any of thies heresies, or other, contrary to the  
determination of our moder, the holy church afore-  
sayd, I do submitt my self to the correction of the  
holy canons: and do promyse unto Almyghty God,  
our moder, the holy church, and you my said  
ordinary, & swere by thies holy Evangelies, here by  
me bodyly touched, that I hereafter shal not hyde,  
or kepe close any heresies, or dampnable opinions,  
nor ther auctors, in tyme to come, nor be conver-  
sant, or familiar wyttyngly with any person or per-  
sons suspect of heresie. But when that I shal know  
any such person or persons, I shal truly detect them  
with ther heresies & opinions to ther ordinaries,  
assone as I conveniently may. Submytting me most  
mykely to our moder holy church, & you my said

ordinary : and desire absolution & penance for thies my offences ; which I promyse to do, observe & fulfill. In witnes wherof, to this my present abiuration, I have set to the sign of the crosse.



Undecimo die mensis Maij, anno dni. mill<sup>o</sup> quingenti<sup>mo</sup> xxvii<sup>o</sup> in capella infra manerium reverendi patris Norwicen. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Coram reverendo in Christo patre, & dno. dno. Cuthberto, permissione divina, London -----

Nota, quod iste oritur ex stirpe vitiata : quia avus patris sui erat ob heresim concrematus, ut dicitur.

p. 42.

## NUMBER XX.

### The Confession of Robert Hemsted.

*Undecimo die mensis Maij, anno dni. mill<sup>o</sup> quingenti<sup>mo</sup> xxvii<sup>o</sup> coram reverendo in Christo patre, & dno. dno. Cuthberto, permissione divina, London. Epo. judicialiter sedent. in capella infra manerium reverendi patris Norwic. Epi. juxta Charyng Crosse, London. Comparuit Robertus Hemstede parochie de Bumstede ad Turrin, London. Dioc. de heretica pravitate suspectus & detectus. Et submisit se correctioni dict. Reverendi patris : & asseruit se plenè & fideliter respondisse articulis eid. objectis, juxta tenorem respensionum sequem. Quas coram eo presente lectas recognovit. Et deinde legit abiurationem.*

MSS. Fox.  
*Ubi supra.*

HEE confessith that, in somer last past, Sir Richard Fox, John Tyball, John Smyth, & frere Topley, came to this respondents house, & caused hym to go with them to a grene, called Hersted Grene : and there they told this respondent of many

thyngs, which he doth not now remember. And frear Topley sayd to this respondent, if he did not beleve as they did teche, he was no true Christen man.

Also, he saithe, at Lent last, he was confessid of the sayd Sir Rich. Fox, curat of Bumstede; and when the said Sir Richard had herde this respondentes confession, he axskyd hym, how he did beleve in the sacrament of thaulter: and then this respondent awnswered, and said as other men doth, that in the blessed sacrament of thaulter is the very body of Criste. To whom the said Sir Richard said, Nay, thou must not do so; for that is not the best way: but beleve thou in the Father, the Son & the Holy Ghost, & not in the sacrament of thaulter. And then this respondent said to the forenamyed Sir Richard, I fear me ye go about to bryng me in the takyng that the men of Colchester be in. To whom the said Sir Richard awnswered, What, man, art thou afrayd? Be not aferde: for those serve a better maister, then ever thou diddest. And so at last, by the motion & techyng of the said Sir Richard, & because he was prist, this respondent thought and belevyd, that in the blessed sacrament of thaulter is not the very body of Criste.

Also he confessith, that by the space of this iiij yeres last, or thereabout, this respondent hath thowght, that *pardons* are of no effect, ne cannot profect.

Interrogatus, an novit aliquos ejusd. secte, dicit, quod non, nisi Johannem Tyball, Johannem Smith, et frem. Thomam Topley, ac dnum. Ric. Fox.

p. 43.

## NUMBER XXI.

The confession of Thomas Hemsted.

*Undecimo die mensis Maij MDXXVIII. in capella infra manerium reverendi patris Norwicen, &c. Ut supra.*

MS. Fox. **HE** confessith, that abowght a yere & half past,  
*Ubi supra.* this respondents wif tawght hym the *Paternoster*,  
*Ave Maria*, & *Credo*, in Englishc; which sche  
 lernyd of Gilbert Shipwright, being ded; & coun-  
 celyd hym, that he shold kepe it close. And in a  
 while after he was chosen church warden of Bum-  
 stede, with John Tyball; and then used the com-  
 pany moch of Sir Richard Fox & the said Tyball.  
 Fox. And when the sayd Sir Richard and Tyball had per-  
 Tyball. cevid that his wyf had towght hym the *Paternoster*,  
*Ave Maria*, & the *Credo*, they did call this respond-  
 ent *Brother in Crist*, & a knowne man. And so by  
 the space of a yere, or more, last past, he have ben  
 conversant & famylyar, & usyd ther company, &  
 have herd ther lectures, redyngs & techyngs; & hath  
 at no tyme disclosed them, nor ther counsell.

T. Hilles. Also, he confessith, that abowght Schroftyde last,  
 Thomas Hilles tawght & shewyd this respondent, that  
*pardons* were nowght, and not profitable for a man.  
 The which this respondent saithe, that sumtyme he  
 thought & belevyd, that it was trew.

Also, that abouwght Fastyngham last, Sir Richard  
 Fox shewid this respondent, that in the blessid sacra-  
 ment of thaulter is not the very body of Criste; but  
 doon for a remembraunce of Christi's passion. Which  
 sayinges he thought & belevyd to bee trew, by the  
 techyng and schewyng of the sayd Sir Richard. And  
 since that tyme hath continued in the sayd error and  
 heresie.

Also, that gooyng on pilgrimages were of no ef-  
 fect; & that a man shold have no nede to go on pil-  
 gremagis.



Also he saith, that all thies persons followyng be of the same sect & lernyng; & have herd the lectures, redynges and techynges of Sir Richard Fox, John Tyball, frear Gardyner, and other of the same sect: and have had communications with them, & be taken & reputed, as *known persons*; that is to say, they be infected & gyltie of al ther errors & articles.

*Fres. Ordinis Augustinen. de Clara, Lond.*

|                           |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Edmond Tyball, uxor ejus. | Johannes Wyggen,     |
| Johan Bocher, widow.      | Thomas Topley,       |
| Uxor Georgij Preston,     | Willielmus Gardyner. |

*De Wytham.*

|                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Johanna Hempsted, uxor | Johannes Chapman, |
| hujus respondentis.    | Thomas Hilles.    |

*De Bumstede.*

Johannes, filius ejus naturalis. Willielmus Browne,  
Robertus Faire. Laici de Johannes Craneford.  
Bumstede.

NUMBER XXII.

p. 44.

*The confession of Robert Necton, that bought and sold New Testaments in English.*

HE bowght, at sondry tymes, of Mr. Fyshe, dwelling by the Whight Frears, in London, many of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now V. & now X.; and sometyme mo, & sometyme less, to the nombre of XX or XXX, in the gret volume. The which New Testaments the said Mr. Fyshe had of one Harmond, an English man, beyng beyond see. But how many he had this respondent cannot tell. And this respondent saith, that about a yere & half agon he fell in a quaintaunce with Vicar Constan-tyne, here in London; which shewed this respondent first, that the said Mr. Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; & caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments of Mr. Fyshe. And the

MSS. Fox.  
*Ubi supra.*

Constantine.

said Mr. Fyshe, at the desire & instance of Vicar Constantine, browghte the said New Testaments home to this respondents house. And before that Vicar Constantine caused this respondent to by some of the said New Testaments, he had none, nor no other books, except the chapters of Matthew.

And moreover, this respondent saith, that about the same tyme he sold fyve of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore, synging-man, in Stowmarket, in Suffolk, for VII or VIII grotes a pece. Also, two of the same New Testaments in Bury St. Edmonds: that is to say, to Raynold Wodellesse one, and Thomas Horfan another, for the same price.

Pycknam  
Wade,  
Norwic.  
Dioc.

Also, he saith, that about Cristmas last, he sold one New Testament to a priste, whose name he cannot tell, dwellyng at Pycknam Wade, in Northfolke; & two Latin books, the one *Oeconomica Christiana*, & the other *Unio Dissidentium*. Also, one Testament to William Gibson, merchaunt man, of the parish of S. Margaret Patens.

Also, Vicar Constantyne, at dyvers tymes had of this respondent about a XV or XVI of the New Testaments, of the biggest. And this respondent saith, that the sayd Vicar Constantyne dyvers tymes bowght of him certayne of the sayd New Testaments; & this respondent lykewise of hym. Also, he sold Sir Richard Bayfell two New Testaments, unbound, about Cristmas last, for the which he payd iijs. iiijd.

Farthermore, he saith, that he hath sold V. or VI. of the said N. Testaments to diverse persons of the cite of London; whose namys, or dwellyng places, he doth not remember.

Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bowght of Geffray Usher, of Saynct Antonyes, with whom he hath byn aqueynted by the space of a yere, or therabout (by reason he was Mr. Forman, the person of Hony Lane, his servant, & for that this respondent did moche resort to the said person's ser-

mons) XVIII N. Testaments in English, of the smal volume, & XXVI books, al of one sort, called *Oeconomica Christiana*, in Latin; & two other books in Latin, called *Unio dissidentium*; for which he payed hym XLsh. Of the which *Oeconomica Christiana*, Vicar Constantyne had XIII at one tyme.

And of which N. Testaments, since Easter, this respondent caryed XV of them, and thother XXIII *Oeconomica Christiana*, to Lynne, to sell. Which he wold have sold to a young man, callid William . . . . merchant man, dwellyng by one Mr. Burde, of the same towne; which young man wold not medle with them, because they were prohibite. And so this respondent left the said books at Lynne, with the said William, untill his retornyng thider ayen; and so the said bookes do remayne ther still, as yet. And two of the said N. Testaments he hath in his own custodie, with another of the great volume. Also, another Testament of the smal volume he sold since Easter, to young Elderton, merchant man, of Saynct Mary Hill parishe.

p. 45.

Howbeit he saith, that he knew not that any of thies bookes were of Luthers sect.

To the XVIII<sup>th</sup>, that he hath byn a *receptor*, he saith, that he twice or thryese hath byn in Thomas Mathews house, of Colchestre, wheras he hath red diverse tymes in the N. Testament in English, before the said Thomas Matthew, his wif, William Dykes, & other servantes ther; and there & then have herd old Father Hacker speke of prophesies; and have had communications of diverse articles, which he doth not now remember.

To the XIX<sup>th</sup>, so begynnyng, "That he went about to by a great nombre of N. Testaments," he saith, that about Cristmas last, there came a Duche man, beyng now in the Flete, which wold have sold this respondent ij or iij hundredth of the said N. Testaments in English: which this respondent did not by; but sent him to Mr. Fyshe to by them: and said to the Duche man, look what Mr. Fyshe doth,

I wil do the same. But whether Mr. Fyshe bowght any of them, he cannot tell: for the which iij hundredreth he shold have paid XVII. Vsh. after IXd. a pece.

To the XX article, *That he is inframed*; he saith, that since Easter last he was at Norwiche, at his brothers house, wher as one had complayned of this respondent to my Lord of Norwiche, because he had a N. Testament. Wherfor his brother counceled this respondent to send or delyver his said N. Testament; & said to him, if he wold not delyver it, my Lord of Norwiche wold send him to my Lord of London, his ordinary. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the caryer.

To the XXI. article, so begynnyng, "That contrary to the prohibition, he hath kept the N. Testament," he confessith, that after he had knowlege of the condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a yere, or more, he hath had in his custodie, kept & studyed the same Testament, & have red it thoroughly many tymes. And also have red in it as wel within the citie & diocess of London, as within the citie & diocesse of Norwiche. And not onely red it to himself, but redd & tawght it to diverse other.

To the XXII. he awnsweryth & denyeth, that he had Wycliefs Wycket or the Apocalips, at any tyme.

Per me ROBERT NECTON.

### NUMBER XXIII.

*Sir Gregory de Cassalis, Dr. Gardiner, & Dr. Fox, the king's Ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.*

FoxijMSS. PLEASITH it your grace to understand, that appointed to repaire unto the popes holynes for our first audyence upon Munday last past at after dynner; after access to his presence in to his privy bed chamber, fyndyng hym accompanied with the Car-



dynall De Radulphis, after reverence & ceremonies accustomed, we delyvered the kings highnes & your graces letters unto him, with most humble & lowly recommendations on the kings & your graces behaulf. And to shew unto your grace the circumstances of his holynes behavior unto us, incontinently as he had redd the said letters, his holynes shewed unto us theeffect & contynue of them in veray compendious & wel couched words: *et continuata oratione*, without suffering us to speak, began to repete the kings grete benefits towards him & the see apostolique; & especially in the time of his captivitie; & how moche he & the see was & is obstringed & bound to your grace, by whos procurement, solicitation & mediation, such things hath been alwayes set forth, as might conferre unto the same. Adding therunto of what mind & intention, as wel *in minoribus*, as also synnes his erection to this dignitie, his holynes hath been, & is, to do al thing that might be to the good satisfaction & contentment of the kings highnes, and now specially in this cawse, towching so neer the quyetnes & tranquillitie of the kings conscience, with the welth & commoditie of that realme; and many such words spoken, as we might judge, as those which proceded sincerely from the bottom & roote of his hart & mynde: willing us fynally, without any circumstance of words, fainlyly to entre with him into communication of the essential points of our charge; wherein he wold geve such resolution without tract or delay, as we could reasonably desire, & as might be agreeable with law & equite, for justification of his doing, & mayntenance of his, & the kings honour hereafter.

At this point his holynes making a pawse, I Steven Gardyner said, "That it was wel known & perswaded to the kings highnes & your gr. of the gret zeal, love & affection, that his holynes bearith towards them both, & the wealth of that realm of England, wherof now of late the kings highnes & your gr. hath had advertisement, as wel by sondry the let-

ters of Sir Gregory de Cassalis, as also the reafort  
 Dr. Knight & relation of Maister Secretary, & more amply by  
 the mouth of the prothonotary Gambara. Who not  
 only exhibited unto the kings highnes a commission  
 & dispensation, passed by your holynes in the kings  
 gret matter, but also added therunto, as of special  
 credence from your holines, that if the same wer in  
 any point thought insufficient, or that by thadvise of  
 lerned men any other thing could be devysed to be  
 added therunto, with all such rescripts, breves &  
 bullys, as might conduce to the effectual definition &  
 determination of the matter, your holines wold therin  
 p. 47 without delay or difficultie, interpone the uttermost  
 of your autorite; as in the favour of him, who hath,  
 by his manifold merits, deserved to perceyve & take  
 al benefits & graces of the see apostolique, as may  
 stand & be agreeable to equite & justice. Wherefore,  
 albeit the said commission & dispensation be in some  
 material points altered from the mynute & forme by  
 the kings highnes required & desired, & by reason  
 therof cannot fully serve for the acheving of the kings  
 desire & intent: yet forasmuch as in exhibiting the  
 same, it was added, as afore, by the said Prothonotary  
 Gambara, & also confirmed by Sir Gregories letters,  
 that if the said commission & dispensation were not  
 thought sufficient, all defawltys shold be supplied &  
 reformed, & the same newly to be graunted accord-  
 ingly. Which is a manifest argument, & evident  
 token of your holines sincere proceding herin. The  
 kings highnes geveth unto your holines no less thanks,  
 then if the same had been passed in most available  
 fourin & maner." And herupon inferred the cawse  
 of our comyng towching first the popes particular  
 matters, & shewyng the kings mynd & intention:  
 declaring also what answer we had in the French  
 court: added therunto your graces labours, travayl  
 & payn in fashionyng & setting forth these things,  
 for satisfaction & contentation of his holines, with the  
 conservation & mayntenance of the see apostolique,  
 & rights of the same. And from declaration of the

particularities of that matier, extending at length the good & fast mind & intention of the kings highnes, *Adhærere sanctitati suæ in prosperis & adversis*, now by these good demonstrations on his holynes behaulf depelyer rooted & confirmed, descended from that to the kings matier, according to our instructions, shewed the kings request & desire: omitting here to write unto your gr. the maner, forme, & ordre of the words, forasmoche as the same is not to be comnytted to wryting, but in cyfre, as we think, *in presenti rerum statu*. And spending the day half with the pope, & thother half with the cardinal *sanctorum quatuor*, oonles we should too long diffre sendyng of our letters, we cannot comnyt the same to wryting.

The popes holynes, when he harde at good length what was said, noting diligently the particularites, first, as concerning his own matiers he said, the kings highnes & your gr. doth therin as his trust & expectation was, in whom *omnem spem suam semper reposuit*: & hath hitherto found al things *expectationi cumulatissimè respondisse*. And where, according to the instructions it was towched, that albeit such promise were now made, yet his holynes must be content to dissemble, & kepe the same secrete, tyl al things were in Italy componed & pacified. His holines said formally these words: "That according to his duty, he is, & hath been moch more studious of the common wealth of Chrystendom, then his own particular affaires, myndyng evermore so to considre & regard them, as therby be not empeched or hindred the state & condition of the common cause. Wherefore geving most hartie thanks to the kings highnes & your said gr. his holynes said, he wold follow your advise & counsail therin." And so passing over that mater without further inquisition, as though that wer not the thing he had so much to hart, as the furtherance & setting forth of the kings cause, he began to answer to that. And where as according to thinstructions it was declared, how your

gr. being advertised, that his ho. somewhat stayed in expedition of the kings desire, for that it was shewed him, that mater was set forth without your gr. consent or knowledge; wherfore your gr. willed us, after protestation made on your gr. behaulf of your sincerite in that matier, to shew & open your mynde, as wel concernyng the merits of the cause, as also the qualities of the gentlewoman. Hereunto his ho. made answer, "That neither such protestation neded unto him, who inwardly knowith your gr. qualities, ne he can think in the kings h. who hitherto above al other things hath esteemed his honor, any undue affection in a matier of so high importance. The perillys & jeopardies wherof towards God no man can better discusse & judg, than his majestie. Whose opinion, mynde & sentence he wold soner lean unto, then any other lerned mannys. Saying, that the kings highnes reasons must nedes be of gret efficacie, strength & sufficiencie, wherby this matier might be ruled & ordred, considering his excellent wisdom, profound lerning, & mature judgment, Al which, he doubteth not, have concurred to the setting forth of this matier: desiring therfore to see & read the kings labour & study in this mater.

And as touching that was said, that your gr. should not have been made privy therunto, he said, "Although it was so reaported unto him, yet he never stedfastly beleved, ne could utterly persuade unto himself, that any thing shold be set forth of so high consequence without your gr. advice & counsail; whose high wisdom, policie & dexterite he wel knowith to have moch furthered the kings h. & the affaires of al other princes, to what part soever the same have inclyned: not doubting but the kings h. like as he hitherto hath doon, so he doth & wil do from henceforth, perceiving these gret gifts, vertues & qualities in your gr., to use the same in al his doyngs: & in consideration of them no less esteeme your gr. then the having of an heyre to succede him in his realm." These were the popes formal words,



as nere as we could note the same. Wherunto his ho. added, "That such reaport, although as is afore rehersed, it sank not depely in his mynde, yet, to say the trewth, it stayed him, & made him doubt in the mater, with desire to be ascertained of the truth in that behaulf; as he is now very glad to hear the same reaported so largely by our mouths. Concluding finally, that for alteration of the commission, & passing it in other form, he wold regard nothing, but the kings honour, & of the see apostolique. Which two were so conjoynd in this cause, as that towcheth the oon must nedes towch & perteyn to thother. Saying farthermore that herin his ho. wold use no tract ne delay, but be content to take paynes from day to day, & only entende to the expedition of this cause, appointing us to re-pare again the next day. At which tyme he wold with us read the kings boke: & so informed of the reasons, consult with us & the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, how & in what form the commission should pass." Which for that tyme, being nere night, we thought sufficient answer concernyng that matier.

And forasmuch as your gr. by letters sent by Thaddéus, willed us at our comyng to the pope, in openyng our charge to the same concerning the mediation of peace between princes, & how the kings h. is wel content his ho. send legates to the kings h., themperor & the French king, of componyng the peace, shold by some good occasion infer mater, wherupon the popes ho. might be induced, as of himself, to set forth an overture to the Fr. king of abstinence on that side the mounteynes for this purpose; after his ho. by way of famylyar intertenement had shewed us of the cruelty of the Spanyards at Rome, & what destruction of howses they made there, trusting to have found treasure hyden: passing from that communication to the present state of Italy, and therupon inferring *ambiguum exitum belli*, the popes ho. also sumwhat mystrusting lest the Spanyards wold *detrectare pugnam*, & divide them-

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self in townes and fortresses, to delaye & delude Mounsr. de Lautreks purpose; trusting in putting over battail, to wery their enemyes, & charge gretely the confederates in the mean season; which was a thing gretly to be feared: we said, God forbid it shold so be: and that upon trust & hope this wer shold shortly be at a point, it is capitulate between the kings h. & the French king to make actual werre in Flaundres; & how for that purpose gret preparations was & is made in England, with trust that the French king wil, as the treaties purporte, send a gret puissance thither. Wherefore if the werre shold stil continue here, & thenemies not exterminate bifore that time, peradventure, *divisa virtus minus valeret*.

Wherefore we said unto his ho. that your gr. pondering this mater, & as a devout inembre of the chirch, tendering the quyetnes of these parties, to thintent your ho. lyving out of fear & daunger of these cruel people, might entend to the reparation and restitution of the see apostolique, have by your letters willed us to say unto his ho. the same to be spoken in such wise, as it shold neither come to the French kings, ne the kings h. knowledge (who entendyth in the most earnest maner to press themperor in all parties) that if for the purpose bifore specyfyed his ho. by his legate, wold set forth an overture of an abstinence on that side the mountaynes, as of himself, your gr. wold gladly furdre the same. Hereunto his ho. gave no direct answer; but said, it was a matier worthy to be dreamed & slept on. And his ho. said he wold so do. And so passing from this communication to such newes as wer then come from the army, we departed for that night.

I Sir Gregory think, that it hath been persuaded to the pope, as I know many here to be of the opinion, that there is no way to delyver Italy of war, but to commence it in some other place. Which, as I have at diverse other tymes said unto the popes ho. seemeth to procede of them that do not wel considre, ne pondre the circumstances, the state of the world.

what charge this army is at here to the French king, & how hard it wilbe for the French king to furnish his nombre capitulate with the kings h. which cannot find mony to kepe at al tymes just payes for this army, wherunto concurreth the help of other confederates.

Thus departing for that night from the popes ho. we entended to have repared that night to the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, but that it was too late. The Cardinal Anconitane & the Cardinal de Ravenna be not here. But we have sent their letters unto them, trusting they wil the sooner repare hither, & afore their tyme appoynted; which is to return within this fortnight.

The next day at afternoon we went, as was appointed, to the popes ho. & exhibited unto him the kings boke; which his ho. incontinently began to rede; & standing a while, & after sitting upon a forme covered with a peece of an old coverlet, not worth xxd. holding the boke, redd over the pistel bifore, & the latter part of the book towching the law, without suffering any of us to help him therein: noting evermore the reasons, as oon succeeded another, & objecting that which his ho. saw afterward answered. Which doon, his ho. gretly commended the boke, & said he wold for a day kepe it with him, to thintent he might by himself at good leysure rede, as wel the first part, as also the second part again. And forasmuch as the pistle was directed to your gr. & the other prelates, his ho. demaunded for thanswer made therunto, as the kings h. requireth in thend of his epistel. We said, that noon answer was made in writing; but of what sort the answer was, his ho. might perceyve by your gr. letters: & such words as we had spoken unto him on your gr. behaulf. And so seemyng to be right wel content therwith, his ho. demaunded, whether the kings h. had at any tyme broken this mater to the quene or not. We said, Yes, and that she shewed herself content to stand to the judgment of the church.

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From this question, his ho. descended to the maner of proceeding of this mater, & how the same requyred celerite; and therupon called in doubt, whether your gr. shold be refused as suspecte: for that answering to the kings epistole in his boke, & declaring your mynde therupon, & so in maner geving sentence before hand, your gr. cannot be called indifferent hereafter. We said, that in this mater wer two things to be considered: first, the law, if the fact be true; and second, to know whether the fact be true or no. Your gr. sentence hath passed you openly but only on the oon side; which is, that the fact being true, the law shold by such reasons, as be alleged, seme to encline to that part; which lettith not but that his ho. may yet commyt unto your gr. indifferent knowlege of the fact, sending a commission decretal *in eventum veritatis facti allegati*, defining the law. Herewith his ho. semed satisfyed. Unto whom it was said, that for avoiding al such lets, it was devised there, that a clause shold be put in the commission, *remota recusatione & appellatione*. Wherunto his ho. assented.

Finally, concerning the commission, it was then too late to read it; and his ho. willing us to leave it there with him, said, he wold in the morning read it bi himself, & afterward send it to the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor; mynding with all celerite to do as moch to the kings contentation & pleasure, with satisfaction of your gr. request, as he might possibly do. We evermore did inculcate what spede & celerite this thing requyred, & what daunger it was to the realme to have this mater hang in suspense. His ho. confessed the same: & therupon began to reckon what divers tytles might be pretended by the King of Scottes & other; & graunted, that without an heyre male with provision to be made, by the consent of the state, for his succession, & that shal be doon herein to be established in such fashion, as nothing may hereafter be objected therunto, that realm were like to come to dissolution; which he doubteth not



but that the kings h. & your gr. hath wel foreseen & considered. Thus without answer to that his ho. said he wold slepe on for setting forth an abstinence, we departed for that night, appointed to resort unto his ho. on the morrow. p. 51.

That night we went to the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, & after delyvery of the kings & your gr. letters, with most harty recommendations on the kings & your gr. behaulf, with like thanks for the gret paines & labors he had susteyned in avauncing & setting forth the kings gret matier, declaring therby the inward zeal & affection that he hath, to do pleasure & gratitude to the kings h., who is a prince of such liberalite & munificence, as wil conside & regard such kindnes abundantly, to the good contentation & satisfaction of such is do any thing for him. Wherfor in as much, as *intestimonium acceptæ gratitudinis*, the kings h. had geven us commaundment sumwhat to offer unto him in his gr. name; it shold be displeasaunt to his gr. to understand, that the said cardinal hath refused to take the two thousand crownes offred by Mr. Secretary & Mr. Gregory; which his h. thought verily he had accepted & taken. This was spoken by thadvyce of me Sir Gregory. Forasmoch as I could in noo wise cawse the said cardinal to take oon peny by noo means; and so rewarding his secretary with thirty crownes, I kepe the rest in my hands to be offred him again. Hereunto the cardinal said, that he was, & so wold be reputed & taken, the kings true servant, to do any thing that lay in his power, not sparing any labour, travayl or payne to do thing acceptable to the kings h., unto whom oonly the see apostolique, & membres of the same, may wel accoumpt themself obliged & bound, to honor his gr., to pretermyt no office, or observance, wherin might be administred unto him gratuite or pleasure. Wherfore he said, that al he hath doon, & can do for the kings h. he thinketh it moch less then his duty; and rehersed the kings manifold benefits exhibited to the sec apostolique: to take wer

for the churches cawse; to cease from werr at the popes desire; & specially the procuring of the popes delyverance; & particularly al that the kings h. hath doon for the church, as came to his remembrance in sundry popes dayes, extending the same with marvelous good words. And finally said, for these considerations he wold shew himself as diligent in expedition of this the kings mater to his good contentation, as moch as might be maintained with law & equite, with al celerite accordingly. And from such good words entred into the particularities of the mater; in communication wherof we shewed him, what labors, paynes & studies the king had taken: & summarily shewed him the ordre of the boke, & after what sort every thing was handeled. It pleased him very wel. And as to the form of the commission, he rehersed his old opinion. Wherunto we said, answer was made there by thadvice of sundry lerned men, who thought, that the form desired by the kings h. is conformable to such as be in the decretals; & rehersed by hart the chaptre *Veniens*, in the title *De Sponsalibus*; which is in such like form as the k. h. desireth. Incontinently as he heard that, falling from his old opinion, he said, that in dede such a commission might be graunted by thoffice of *Contradicta*; wherof I Sir Gregory have written to your gr. We asked him the fashion & maner of that office, & passing the commission, he said, that it shold pass under lead, so as the popes ho. might allege, if he list, ignoraunce therin, as passed by his officers. We said, that passing after that maner, the said commission might be, by an inhibition, impestrate on like fashion, frustrate & letted. He said, that good hede sholde be had thereunto. By which words of the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, we perceave, that oonly fear of victory of the Spanyards lettith this cawse. And they al fear lest peradventure *victrix exercitus Hispanus* wold upon this mater make a quarel.

Which our conjecture we se somewhat confirmed

by the popes words, at our comyng to his presence on Wednesday. At which tyme demaunding of his ho. whether he had read the commission, & how the same liked him, his ho. said, it seemed unto him after the tenor of that was first sent; & neither approving ne improving, said, he had sent it to the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, & taried to hear his opinion; who being then diseased, required us to come again on the morrow; at which tyme we shold together consult upon that mater. That mater thus stayed by the disease of the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor, we desired his ho. to devise what cardinal shold be most convenient to be sent as legate in that mater, to procede jointly or severally with your gr. who might have a good pretence for componyng peace betwen princes; which is a thing very necessary, as we had before shewed to his ho. Hereat his ho. somewhat stayed, & wold not expressly graunt, that he wold take upon him *provinciam mediatoris pacis*. And whan we repeted unto his ho. the relation of Gambara, of such letters as themperor shuld have sent unto the popes ho. for that matier, his ho. fayntely said, that soche lettres he had. Howbeit his ho. nothing earnestly spake in that matier. We enforced that, as moche as we could; & said, we thought Cardinal Campegius shuld be a very meet personage to be sent into England; who might, being there joyntely with your gr. procede in this matier. His ho. said, that this the kings matier, being thus divulged, it shuld be noted of al men, that whatsoever other cawse were pretended, it shuld be verily thought the very chief cawse shuld be for this purpose. We then adding, that in Cardinal Campegius, noted somewhat to favour themperors cawses, & to be indifferent, shuld be judged no such thing; replied no further, to thintent we might the better disciphre the very let & stykking; & for avoiding & removing therof lay such ordinances, as your gr. in your instructions, hath prepared for us.

After this we toke occasion to induce his ho. to

set forth thabstinence, and by mutual reasoning to know of what opinion his ho. was concerning the same; not namyng it an abstinence, but a converting of the princes powers totally to the extermination of the emperors army, before doing any thing in Flaunders. His ho. said, he thought good, that *bellum* were *reipsa* executed here, & *solo nomine* in Flawnders. And al things to be so ordered as they in Flaunders should be in continual expectation, lest being secure, they shuld, for avoydyng the werr, cause a new army to be sent into Lombardy. We said, that it is not to be thought, howsoever things procede here, that they here in the Low Country wyl spend any treasure for helping themperor in any part, but oonly in defence of their own country. And wheras his ho. thought good, that all the princes powers converted *reipsa* to the maintenance of this army, for the pacifying of Italy; it shuld be expedient *bellum geri nomine* & *fama in Flandria*; we thought, that  
 p. 53. such threats & *fama belli*, without any effect ensuyng, shold moch encourage the Flemmengs, and theni of the Low Countreyes, & cause them to think the default to be in the princes puissances; which opinion emprinted, thenemyes might gretly hyndre the common affaires. Wherefore we thought good, that if *omnis vis belli* shuld be converted hither, it were expedient that by some good policie an abstinence were set forth on that syde the mountaynes. Hereunto we had noo direct answer; but so departed from his ho. leaving that mater to be delyvered of by his ho. tyl our next repare unto the same; which shal be this day, being the morrow after our Lady-day, at thre of the clock at after noon; at which tyme the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor hath also promysed to be there.

At our repare unto the popes ho. as was appointed, there we found with him the Cardynal Sanctorum quatuor, and standing in another angle of the chamber the Cardynal Ursinus, the Cardinal Cesarinus, & the Cardinal De Cœsis; and as soon as we wer



entred his bedchambre, his ho. withdrew himself into a lytel studie, which his ho. useth for his sleping chambre; & there caused stoles to be brought; & setting himself with his back to the wal, wyllled the Cardinal Sanctorum & us to sit round about him; & then called for oon Jacobus Symonet, Dean of the Rote, a man of good gravite, & as it semed substantial lerned. When we were thus placed, the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor began to purpose the consultation & cawse of our metyng, & there shewed in effect such reasons as he had written into England. And after him spake the said dean, with a preface, that it was a matier wherin he had not moch studied, ne turned his bokes. Nevertheles as semed to him for that tyme, he thought the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor said very wel. When they had both spoken, the popes ho. willed me, Steven Gardyner, to speke what I thought good in defence of the commission; and so I dyd, to ther good satisfaction. And finally the matyer was so opened & declared by us, as the popes ho. right wel perceyved, & could not but allow the kings desire & his mynde therin.

And finally, the mater was reduced to this point, that such commission, althowe in old tyme it hath passed, & is not descrepant from justice; yet it is now *novum & insolitum*; and the emperour might take occasion against the pope to say, that to his injury his ho. doth an act “extra modum nuper consuetum, & communem stilum curiæ a temporibus editorum decretalium observatum. Howbeit we brought his ho. by persuasions from this allegation; and oonly rested to know the opinions of lerned men, whether the particular cawses expressed in the commission may be justified to be sufficient for a divorce or not. And therupon willed the said Symonet to loke his boke, & to have conference with us. We were reasoning to & fro bifore the popes ho. above fowre houres; in which conference we have plainly opened unto his ho. the cawses, why the commission is desired in that form, & what is meant thereby: furnishing it with

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such reasons as were not removed, ne taken away, but *solo timore*. Inasmoch as the popes ho. to declare his good mynd towards the kings h. said, that he had so moch confidence in the k. h. conscience, as he wold ground his therupon, & doth persuade unto himself, that to be true & just which so apperith unto the kings conscience, & wold upon that ground privily pass any thing he might do by his auctoryte : but in this case, which shal come to the knowlege of the world, he said he must so do, as the see apostolique be not slandered thereby. And forasmoch as in hymself his ho. knowlegith no such profound lerning as were sufficient to discuss this matier, he thought therfore of duty he could no les do, then to counsail other therupon, such as be about him here ; who might hereafter justify his doings, whatsoever shuld be alleged on ther partie ; wherein, he doubted not, but the emperor wold cause diverse universities to write. And therupon to me, Sir Gregory, his ho. shewed a lettre, sent secretly from a gentleman, being in themperors court ; mentioning what answer was made by the said emperor to the intimation made on the kings behaulf, containing this matier of divorce ; which addith some fear to the popes ho. being of his own nature *timidior quam oportet*. And besides that, the doubtful end of the werr in Naples, which by such tydingis as came at our being with his ho., mentioning how the Spanyards intend to divide & distribute the army into holds, there to abyde grace in space, is not like, as they think, to be ended before Michaelmass.

Neverthesles whatsoever we can devise in the kingis matier to be doon in such sort, as the pope might allege any excuse for hymself sumwhat to cloke his doynge herein, we think he will make no stikking therat. For as towching allegation of the kingis merits & deserts, it was no nede for us to speke any thing, the same being in the most ample wise rehearsed to the popes ho. by the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor in our presence, with confession on al parties,

that in the kingis cause nothing were to be omitted, that might be doon, agreable to justice, & stile of the court. To-morrow in the morning the said Symonet, Dean of the Rote, in whom the popes ho. puttith his confidence, shal by appointment repaire to us for examination of the justice of the matier. Which doon, & persuaded to him, as we trust it shalbe, we have good hope, that we shall sumwhat remove the popes ho. from the respect of the stile, & *moris novi ab editis decretalibus observati*.

This day in the morning, being the xxvij day of March, arryved the Prothonotary Gambara. And as yet we hear no word from Staphileus; but they say, he wil be here within these three or four dayes. Al this day, from seven of the clock in the morning to dyner tyme, & after dyner til it was night, the said Symonet, Dean of the Rote, hath been with us, & herde what could be said concerning the law upon the causes alleged & expressed in the commission, he takyng upon him the contrary part, & objectyng as much as he could. And albeit he wold not expresly confes our purposs, fearing that then there were no remedy, but that the commission in the form desired shulde pass, from reasoning, he descended to persuade us rather to take a general commission, in as ample form & maner as we could devise, with promise of ratification, then to stik upon this form, being new, & out of course; and if we wold be so contented, he would not doubt but we shuld be sped to-morrow. And so began to make his reckening, that within three months sentence myght be gyven there, & remytted hither to be confirmed, with many good words, how gladly he wold set forth the kings cause, & how moch he, & the whole court, be bound to do the same; taking therupon occasion to speke of the kings benefits to the see apostolique, & what a minister your gr. hath been in setting forth the same: assuring your gr. that generally here al men that speke with us do the semblable, expressly confessing, that through the help of the k. h. & your

gr. solicitation, they have obtained the lytel libertie they have, & your favours fayling shuld not enjoy the same. Fynally, the said Symonetta perceyving, that by no means he could persuade us to be content with such a commission as is agreable to the second degree your gr. hath prescribed us, departed from us for that night.

On the morrow we went to the Cardinal De Monte, & delyvered him the kingis lettres, with recommendations on his hieghnes & your gr. behalf; who, receyving the said lettres, joyfully said, It was moch to his comfurth, after these calamities, to receyve letters from that prince, who hath oonly so-coured & releved them out of the same: moch extolling the kingis merits & your graces, towards the see apostolique & them; shewed what reioyce it was to them to rede your gr. lettres written unto them, when they were *in vinculis*, conteigning words full of life & hope: adding therunto, that if every oone of ther college had with such good hart regarded that calamitie, as your gr. did, it had been moch less & soner redubbed. He is a man of good courage, & spake it hartily. Finally, he said what he might do in furthering the kingis matier, which we shewed unto him at length, it was his duty to do it, as a member of the see apostolique, so gretly obliged & bound unto the kinges h. in the most effectual manner to do the same. And that we shuld wel perceyve & know, he wold be as diligent therin as thowe it were his own.

The popes ho. on Passion Sondag, at after dyner, counsailed upon this matier with the Cardinalls De Monte & Sanctorum quatuor, & the said Simonetta, appointing us to come to his presence about three of the clock: & so we did. Finding his ho. in his litill sleping chambre, accompanied with the Cardinals Sanctorum quatuor & De Monte, being ther also the said Simonetta. His ho. commaunded us al to sit down, he hymself sytting as it were *in medio semicirculi*; & willed me, Stephen Gardyner, to ask what we desired. Which I then did, adding such circum-



stances to the petition as I thought convenient ; desiring, in effect, a commission after such form as was already exhibited to his ho. on the kingis behaulf. Wherunto the pope's ho. made answer at good length, protesting, first, his good mynd towards the k. h. & how moch he ought of duty to do to his highnes good satisfaction, with plentie of good words. And secondarily, shewing what he had doon therin, forasmoch as his lerning is insufficient in this behaulf. Hereunto I, Steven Gardynere, replied, That in this matier were two articles, chief & principal : oon, whether his ho. wold pass the said commission ? Another, whether, if he would, he might ? For the first part, *ad captandam benevolentiam*, I said, that besides such demonstrations as have been made heretofore, we sennes our cummyng have scen *evidentissima argumenta*, & may be *testes locupletissimi* to the k. h. & your gr. of his ho. propence will in this matier, to accomplish our desire. For the second part, Whether his ho. might—I said, that I trusted by the kingis boke for the justice of the matier, it wel appeared, & also by such offere as the Cardynal Sanctorum quatuor & Simonetta, being lerned men, have offered unto us in that behaulf ; saying, that the sentence ones gyven shuld be confirmed by his ho. Which promise, if it be to be trusted unto, is a playn confession that our cause is good, or else it ought not to be confirmed. Wherefore between our desire & ther offere is onely difference of tyme ; so as that which is promised to be done after the sentence, we require it to be in effect done bifore. Which was necessarie to be obtained in avoyding such chaunces as might let obtaining of the confirmation ; as death of the pope, or other adverse success, not now thought.

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So as this matier is brought to this point, that as the oonly stile & maner lettith the graunting of the kingis purpose ; which I said the k. h. wold take very straungly, & wold think his manifold benefits il employed, if in the maner & forme of obteigning justice there shal no more respect be had of his per-

son, & weight of his cause, then *promiscuæ plebis*; ne obteyn more here, after so grete charges, costs, & delay of tyme, then his h. might have obtained at home. Not dowting but his majesty, understanding hereof, wold use *domestico remedio apud suos*, without ventilating his cause, where he perceiveth it is handeled, loked on, & herde, as thow there were alredy in mennes harts enrooted *prejudicata opinio*, that al things were colored, & *nullis nixa radicibus justitiæ & veritatis*. When I had thus spoken, with many moo words sounding to that purpose, every man loked on other, & so stayed. At the last, Simonet thinking that the matier towched him nere; inasmoch as by graunting & offering confirmation of the sentence, he shuld seme to approve the justnes of this cause; beganne to make & shew a difference bitwen confirming the sentence after it was gyven, & making this decretal commission; and so entred again into reasonyng of the causes.

The popes ho. harde, with very good wil, disputation in that matier. The Cardinals De Monte & Sanctorum quatuor al this while were only auditours; the Card. Sanctorum quatuor knowledging, that besides the stile of the court & usage therof, he hath noo sight in the law: & the Card. De Monte alleging, that as yet he hath not loked his boke in this matier. But they both desired us to be content with a commission, conteyning no special causes, with promyse of confirmation; which shuld serve the kingis purpose, and therin shuld be no difficulty made. We said, that our petition therin was by thadvice of many learned men, prescribed at home, & gyven us by instructions, which we might not transgress. The popes ho. said, that al that which with his honour he might do, he wold do it gladly without tract or difficultie. We said, that that which was not honourable for his ho. to graunt, was not honorable to be desired on the kingis behaulf. So as in this matier, if honour shuld be towched, it shuld be touched in them both. But it is not to be supposed, that the

kingis h. who hitherto hath had such respect of his honour, conserved & defended the same above al other princes, wold now, in conducing this matier to effect, do any thing that shuld steyne or blemish the same : or that your gr. who hath such consideration both to the kingis honour, as his subget, & to the see apostolique, as membre of the same, wold be counsailour or ministre in any thing that shuld be dishonorable to both, or either of them.

The popes ho. perceyving that our words were somewhat playner then they had been, & that by degrees we began to speke more earnestly then we had doon, & that we alleged alwayes for a ground nothing to be let or stop in graunting the said commission, but only the stile & maner of late in every common cause used ; which seeing we touched very moch, his ho. said, that schortely to resolve this matier, he is now fixed & determined, in satisfying the kingis desires, to set apart al stile & common course of the court, which could be no law to him, ne bynde his ho. to follow the same in so gret a cause as this is, & to such a prince, who hath deserved so many benefits of the see apostolique : extending liis authorite therin, & speking as it were against *Sanctorum quatuor*, who is altogether *defensor stili curie Romane, non prioris & antiquissimi, sed posterioris & novissimi*, used from the tyne of his practise. Finally, the popes ho. said, if in the law these causes may be ground just & sufficient to mayntein a sentence of divorce, be will make such a commission, any stile or use to the contrary notwithstanding. Adding therunto, that if themperor should grudge therat, he cared not therfore, & having matier to defend *justitiam causarum*, he wold by breve signify to themperor & the world, that, *in modo administrandæ justitiæ*, he of duty ought to shew al favour & grace to the k. h. for his manifold merits ; and so he wold. Wherefore his ho. said, he wold hear what the Card. de Monte, & the Card. Anconitane, unto whom he writeth in post, wil say in these matiers ; & hering

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ther judgments, he wold shortely satisfy our requests & desires : and then devise with us upon sending of a cardinal, & who shuld be most mete for that purpose.

We desired his ho. that it wold please hym schortely to resolve hymself therin, to thintent we might depech our post, whom we have taried these six dayes past, & intend not to depech hym, til we shal have some certain resolution to signifie unto your gr. His ho. said, that no man desired more speedy expedition then he hymself, knowing of what moment and importance the matier is.

After these disputations, continuing by the space of three houres, we did arise, and so did the pope's ho. ministring unto us familiar communication, & enquiring of the bishops of England, & ther gret age, as the Bishops of Winchestre, Norwich, & my Lord of Canterbury & other. Wherupon telling his ho. a mery tale of the Bishop of Norwich, his good herte, & how being about fourscore yere old, he wold have a chambre devised nere the ground, without any staires, to ly in twenty yeres hence, when he knew wel he shuld be somewhat feeble; toke occasion to make overture unto his holynes of taking away the first fruites, telling it as a motion made by the said bishop to the k. h. & your gr. without shewing the popes ho. that for obteneing therof we had any instructions therin. His ho. for pastime, liked wel to hear therof, & began to enquire of the particularities, how & what maner those fruites might be redeemed. Wee then shewed the k. h. & your gr. devise. Which liked his ho. very wel, and so did it the cardinals ther present. Wherefore having that opportunitie, and mynding to diminish such particular sutes, to thintent al cummyng *in cumulo* shuld not seme moche, said, that we had a commission from the k. h. & your gr. to obteigne commission, with sufficient auctorite, for the doing therof. His ho. said, it were a good dede, & he wold gladly concurr to the perfiting therof. Which words being spoken to the Card. Sanctorum



quatuor, & in the presence of Simonetta, oon of the referendaries, be a ful expedition in that matier.

The popes ho., althow it was night, having plesure in communication of this realm, introduced of himself communication of your gr. college, & began to tell the Cardinalls De Monte & Sanctorum quatuor, what a meritorious act your gr. had begonne in that realm, & enquired of us, how the building proceded, & what we thought they would cost or they were finished; of the nombre of scholars, common reders, & al other particularities. Which we then declared at grete length, to the grete rejoyce & pleasure of the popes ho. & the cardinals, as they said, to hear. And moch it pleased them to understond, that your gr. hath taken such ordre in letting the fermes, as no man shal have them but such as wil dwel upon them, and mainteyne hospitalitie: thinking, that the same is not onely good & expedient for example to be followed, & observed of other, but also gretly meritorious towards God, wel justifying & mayntening the commutation & alteration of those religious places, wherof only did arise *scandalum religionis*. Thus entred in this communication, we immixt such things & reasons as might serve to facilitate the obtaining of that is here to be graunted for the said college. And without opening any special requests, we said in general, that if his ho. continued his good mynd towards the finishing & perfiting of that college, as his ho. hath to the beginning and commencement, your gr. had so dysposed al things there, as it shuld schortely be brought to the desired perfines, althow the same is & shalbe to your gr. inestimable charge. Which shuld be a perpetual memory, as wel for his ho. as for your gr. His ho. said, he gladly would do al things he might by his auctoritie do. And at this point we departed from his ho. for that night.

At another tyme in communication, we toke occasion to cause his ho. to shew his mind to the Card. Sanctorum quatuor for degradation of prests, accompting that matier, and for the first fruits of Nor-

wich, sped *obiter*, *aliud agendo*. The making & conceiving wherof we ne do, canne, ne shal intend unto such tyme as we expedite the kinges matier, according to your gr. commandment in that behaulf.

As touching that your gr. willed us to advertise you, how long the process should contynue, in case the kingis matier shuld be examined & discussed here, we have by al means possible endeavored our self to know, without geving any cause to them here of conjecture that we wold have it brought hither. And to shew your gr. playnly, first, we perceyve, that they would not gladly have it here, as the state of the world is now, the Cesarians not yet purged out of these parties. For al the stop, difficulty, and delay in this matier, procedeth only of fear: which, considering ther late calamite, & the incertainty of the werr in Naples, semeth to be such as might *cadere in constantem virum*. We find in every man as gret desire to further the kingis matier as we can wish, as far as we can gather of ther words, fashion, & maner. And in that they assent not to our requests, we can impute it to no other thing, but onely fear, that if there were any thing doon *novum* & *gratiosum*, agaynst the emperors purpose, it shuld be *materia novæ captivitatis*; if the Spanyards may have any comfort in Naples, wherof they be mervelous uncertayn. And althow newes dayly come of the Spanyards adversity, yet they fear & are glad to reteyne, & not to abandon themperors part, the popes ho. having with them a *nuntius* to enterteyne them; by him to be advertised of al success. As for length of the process here, where every lerned man shal have delay to say his mynde, they cannot tell, ne wee can get any direct answer therin of them, not willing to be noted any thing to medle openly agaynst themperor, or that which he taketh so to stomack, as they know by the answer to thintimation he dooth this matier.

When we speke of celerite to be used in expedition, they devise how spede may be made there; &

so the sentence to be remitted hither, to be confirmed. Other answer we can get none. So as al that hath been hitherto spoken by them, that the k. h. shuld first marye, & such other devices as we may gather here, were set forth oonly for that intent, that whatsoever they did, they wold not be noted of counsail in the beginning of the matier, or to be privy to any specialty therof in the commencement. For which cause we are the more earnest in pressing them to graunt the commission after the first device, mentioning the specialties of the cause. Which set apart & not required, we are sure to obtaine the second degree of our instructions in the most ample wise, & with gret thanks to take it. Howbeit we do not yet relent, but stik stil to have the commission after the first form; grownding our self upon such reasons, as the popes ho. wel perceyveth, & right wel alloweth. Nevertheles, the case being chaunged as it is synnes our departure, by reason of such publication therof, as themperor hath made in his answer to the intimation. Wel considering how the process might be after the best deduced & handelyd, without gyving themperor occasion, & his adherents to brute abroad, slaundering the kings matier, that without extraordinary remedies the k. h. could not attayne his purpose, we verily think in our opinyon, that the commission obteyned after the secound degree shal serve to very good purpose, to ground the process upon, & to be that which shalbe openly exhibited & shewed; being also that which they wold gladly geve us here, with promise to confirm the sentence incontynently, *supplentes omnes defectus tam juris quam facti*, with al spede & expedition possible. Wherunto, according to our instructions, we shal condescend oonly in such case as we perceyve letts to be in obtaining the first; which, notwithstanding any words spoken unto us by the popes ho. we think we shal not obtain to be used & shewed openly, as we require it.

Wherfore inasmoch as we perceyve the let of

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graunting therof to be fear, which being so imminent & lately felt, we be in despair to take away, either by words of comfort, or other like, as your gr. can of your high wisdoms consider to be *verisimile*, according to such communication as your gr. had unto us the Friday at night before our departing in your chambre at Yorkes Place. Pondering also that the effect of the commission, after the first form, is onely, *Ut constet de iudicio ecclesiæ* in those articles, for the discharge of them, that shal procede therein, we have devised, that being without hope of obtaining the commission absolutely in the first form, we shal desire the popes ho. to pas it secretly to remayn with the k. h. for justification of his matier, *in cventum*, that the confirmation by some chaunce cannot be obteyned, the same to be kept secret, & to be shewen to no man, but only the kingis counsailours; & to geve us, as is promised, a generall commission for a legate, as our instructions purporteth. Which first commission to be kept secret, yf we can obteyne, as we perceyve some likliwode we shal; the said commission, in the first form, shewed to such as have been of contrary opinion, shal, & must, satisfie them, & be *regula* to them, that shal be judges, how to procede; seing *rescriptum pontificis* determining the case. And the second commission to be that wherupon the jurisdiction shal be graunted, to make process in that matier. The said first commission obteyned in secret maner, having noon other use, but to be seen ther privily, shalbe *calculus & suffragium pontificis* in the law, & also *pignus suæ voluntatis, & auctoritatis*, that the sentence be geven conformably therunto, shal be confirmed.

In this device we digress not from our instructions. Forasmuch as it is not, ne shal be, set forth unto such tyme, as by our instructions we shuld take the general commission, being in despair of the first & special commission. At which tyme if we can attayne the first to be kept privy for the purpose before



specified, & *ex abundanti*, having so moch more to be used at your pleasure or refused, we think we shal not offend the k. h. & your grace.

The matiers being at this poynt, & so long tyme passed synnes our arryval here, we thought best hereupon to depeech my Lord of Rochfords prest, without tarying of any other resolution, whether we shal obteign the commission afre this first form, or not: which yf we can attayne, we wil be most glad; yf not, we shal see what we can do for obteigning that to be kept secret; wherein we have sunime hope: and being in despair therof, shal, according to our instructions, cumme to the second degree, to have the general commission. Which we be sure of, & have promise already made unto us, as we have bifore written unto your gr. From day to day we have ever been in good hope to have sent sum resolution of attayning the commission in the first form, & have been in contynual disputations every day; trusting to have had such answer as we desired. Whereupon we differred the depechs of this post: doing also the same to move & sterre the popes ho. with the more spede to regard our cause *tacitè*, by not sending away our post; signifying unto him that we were nothing satisfed with what we herde his ho. say unto us, althow he promised us a commission general, agreable to the second degree of our instructions.

The Prothonotary Gambara resortith unto us, & soliciteth the kingis matier very effectually, aswel to the popes ho. as also other. The Bishop Staphileus is not yet come, but they said he wil be here within these two days. The popes ho. is not yet resolved what cardinal he wil send, & wold, that he might send noon. Nevertheless he saith, he wil appoint oon such as that be agreable to the kingis desire. The Cardinal Campegius is at Rome. *De cuius voluntate non dubitatur*. For the popes ho. said, the said cardinal wrote unto hym to geve faith to the kingis h. writings & reasons in this matier. It is

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onely feared in hym, *nè in itinere labore podagra ; cui morbo mirum in modum obnoxius est* : after such sort as he is gretly extenuate therewith, when it cunnith. Of whom his ho. wil resolve hymself, we cannot yet tell. The certainte whereof I, Edward Fox, shal bring with me with the said commission.

As towching the sending of legates to the princes, and setting forth an abstynence, as your gr. wrot unto us by your lettres, we cann have noon other answer of the popes ho. then we have now written unto your gr. His ho. is *cunctator maximus*. Which qualitie hath contrary success in his ho. to that it had in *fabio maximo ; qui rem Romanam cunctando restituit*. In the kings cause his ho. hath taken very gret paines ; & we think at this houre seeth as far in it, why & wherefore the commission is desired in the first form, as any other of his assistance ; & as we thinke moch better. So as whatsoever his ho. shal do therin, he shal never allege *surreptionem, obreptionem, sucum* or *ignorantiam*.

May it please your gr. to signifie your pleasure by letters to the Mayster of the Rolls, how & in what wise we, Steven Gardyner & Edward Fox, or either of us, retorning by Fraunce, shal use our self, in reparing to the French court ; & how we shal answer the French king, in case he be desirous to know what spede is had here in the kingis matier.

We send unto your gr. herein inclosed abstracts of such letters, as hath been sent to the popes ho. by his *nuncius* resident with Mouns. De Lautreke, contayning news of his proceeding in Naples. It is very certain that the Spanyards have refused batel, & conveyed themself out of ther camp neerer unto Naples in the night, from the place where they were encamped within haulf a mile of tharmy of Mouns. De Lautreck. In hurtes doon & taken on eyther partie, there is many tymes tydings repugnant ; & the imperialls in writing retayne ther courage, that they have lost in fighting. It is also of certainte, which we think hath come to your gr. knowlege,

that the citizens in Rome dayly fle such Spanyards as they can have knowlege of: not oonly such as were soulgiers, but also such as before dwelt in Rome, & in the direption lost ther substance. So as *nullus natione Hispanus ulla ex parte tutus veniret Romam*: as other things occurith here worthy advertisement, we shal not faile to signify the same unto your gr. praying Almightye God long to preserve your gr. in good helth & prosperitie, with moch encrease of honour & felicitie. From Orviet, the last day of March.

*Postscripta.* As we wer finyshing these letters, I, Sir Gregory, was sent for to the popes ho. Who, forasmoch as he hath no better resolution from the Fr. king concerning the restitution of Ravenna & Cervia, verily persuading hymself, that the Venecians, were not that they had sum comfort of the Fr. king, wold not have differred contrary to ther promyse made to the k. h. & your gr. the restitution of the said cities, so long as they have doon; thinking therfore that the letters sent from the k. h. & your gr. in that matier shal nothing prevaile; saith, he is not in total desperation, & perceyveth hymself deluded of al parties. And synnes he cannot hope of remedy at ther hands, that call themself friends, he shall be necessitate to geve hymself to them that be noted enemies; & sooner to suffre *ruinam totius Italiae*, then his ho. & the church *sic ludibrio exponi ab istis*, meaning the Venecians. *De quibus tam bene meritis est.* The popes ho. thinketh not, that any thing is doon by the Fr. king herin for any ill mynd he berith to his ho. *Sed ex nimio affectu in Venetos*, more esteming them then is convenient: who so litil regarded so many promises, made by the oratours to the k. h. the Fr. king, your gr. & my lady, in such a matier, as without manyfest injury cannot be differred a day. His ho. is the more perplexed and troubled, for that Ariminum delyvered unto hym by Mouns. De Lautreck, is now taken

again by hym, that had occupate it before, & was put out by Mouns. De Lautreke: which geveth cause of suspition unto hym, & clerly discomforteth hym in his mynd & opynyon. Wherfore yf your gr. by good ways & means doo not with the Fr. king & Venecians so ordre his matier, as effect may ensue, his ho. is so far fallen in his own conceite, as it shal not ly in any mans power here, by his counsail, to uphold hym, but that he shal precipitate hymself into his enemies dedition, to the total ruine of al Italie, & hindrance of the common affaires.

#### NUMBER XXIV.

*Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Fox, & Sir Gregory de Casalis, the kings ambassadors, unto the cardinall. From Orviet.*

Foxij MSS. PLEASITH yt your gr. to undrestand, that after depech of my Lord of Rochfords prest, who departed hens the first day of April, I, with Maister Fox & Sir Gregory, repared that day to the popes ho. shewing vnto the same, how upon comfurth of such words as his ho. had spoken unto us, & such good inclination, as we perceyved in the same, to do al things, that might be to the kingis good contentation & your gr. We had depeched our post with letters signifying his ho. good mynd, & that we loked for short expedition, to the satisfaction of the k. h. & your gr. The specialties wherof to be sent by Mr. Fox, who, whatsoever answer shal be geven, must retorne shortely. Wherfore I desired his ho. to resolve hymself without delay or difficultie, saying, *That bis dat qui cito dat: et aliud dare videtur, qui cito negat.* His ho. said, that this matier consisted in the knowlege of the law, wherof he is ignorant, & must nedys therfore depend upon the resolution of them, which be lerned in that facultie, whom he hath counsailed, & cannot as yet get any certain answer of them, althow his ho. hath, & contynually doth desire



them with spede to condescend to oon opinion, or other, & to shew ther sentence in these articles, whether in ther opinions the causes, wherupon the matrimony shold be declared nought, & the dispensation void, be sufficient in the law or not: which doon, he wold reject al stiles & ceremonies, & wold do all things not contrary to justice.

I said, that as for the knowlege of the justnes of the cause, I verily trusted his ho. wold geve credence to the kingis bokes, & your gr. relation of the opinion of lerned men in those parties. His ho. said, that the thing being such as shold come *in judicium orbis*, he wold so do; & doubtith not, but that the k. h. & your gr. se very good matier & substantial, why the said matrimony shold be dissolved. Nevertheless hereafter *re deducta in ora omnium*, it shold be said, “Quod quanquam ut bonus vir serenissimo regi, de cujus conscientia non dubitat;” & your gr. relation, whom his ho. knoweth wel, wil not for any respect, “aberrare a vero, fidem habuerit: tamen non ut bonus pontifex & judex communis, qui de alienis factis cognoscens, non ipsos eosdem adhibere debeat consultores. He said, it is both true, wherof he is both sory & ashamyd, & also notory, that his ho. hath no lerning in the law. Which, when the commission cam *in publicum*, as it must nedys do, by reason a copy therof shal be geven to the quene, & so consequently to themperor hands, shold argue hym either manifestly *temerarium*, to the slaunder of the church, doying it without counsail of other, or else *nimis credulum judicem*, to be persuaded by the parties sayings only, without hering any thing replied on the other side. And added therunto, that they of the court here being lerned men in the law, whose counsails the popes heretofore have most commonly adhibite & followed, wold hereafter most sonnes study to reprove & confute that which is, or shal be, done: & thow the same were wel doon, to the passing wherof hath not be required ther judgment & advise. Wherefore yf he colde have the opinion of them here,

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he wold make no further tract: saying, that of the truth of the matier he was persuaded by the kingis & your gr. relation.

And as towching the publishing of the same after this maner, & calling it truth *alijs*, with decree to be geven therupon by his auctoritie, as the commission purporteth, he wold gladly do it, having any comfurth of these men so to do: who yf they say ther opinions therin, it shal evermore studye from hensfurth for the defence therof, & justifie his doyngs in this behaulf.

Hereunto I said, that it shuld be somewhat alien & discrepant from the expectation of the k. h. & your gr., to undrestonde by our lettres this answer: which conferred with such wordis, as have been spoken in divers communications bifore, semeth evidently to declare these wayes & means be to excogitate, to colour the denyal of the kingis purpose: which shal be *duplici nomine ingratum*. First, *Ob negatam tam justam petitionem*. Secondly, *Ob moram & dilationem*. Of which two may arise such suspition, as your gr. wold be loth shuld enter into the kingis brest. And thus began to repete such words of comforte as the popes ho. had spoken unto us at sondry tymes, which we have reported unto your gr. by our former letters. And wher his ho. puttith so moch doubt of mens sayings & judgments, having regard & respect what mennys opinions shalbe of hym, for gevyng credence to the parties, I said, that in a matier of truth, as this is, having so evident & manyfest reasons for confirmation therof, al such scruples were removed. And it shuld not be considered, who said it, but what was said, “*Et veritatis luce proferente sese, veluti ad solis conspectum nebulas, obscuras istus calumnias evanescere.*” Wherefore inasmoch as the kings matier there is affirmed to be just, & that they here only doubt, without determining the same to be unjust; with that also, that his ho., as he pretested, geveth privately credence to the kingis reasons, & your gr. relation & judgment, it

shalbe thought of yt self sufficient matier & justifiable : so as his ho. not so taking it, & doing therafter, no words to be spoken of his mouth so earnestly & effectually, as may be able to counterpeise his dede ; but that the same shal “ ad suspicionem minus sinceræ mentis colligendam præponderare.” Desiring his holines therfore, that he wold have good respect therunto : & *prætervolantem occasionem sistere & retinere* : maynteining your labour & study in reteining the k. h. devotion towards the see apostolique ; & not putting things in such condition, as they shuld not be recoverable by no means hereafter : saying, now is the tyme, in which doying that of duty & justice he ought to do, his ho. might adquire an inestimable treasure of the kingis good mynd for recovery of the authorite of the see apostolique, with mayntenance of the same. His ho. said, he wold do the best he could. And forasmoch it was shewed him, that Bishop Staphileus was within a dayes jorney, he wold tary his cummyng, & hear what he wold say, & so without other resolution departed for that tyme.

The same night arryved Staphileus. And on the morrow we repared to his lodging, shewing unto hym al we had done, & in what point the matier stode : declaring unto him also what our petition was, & in what forme the commission was devysed, with commandment by instructions in no wise to digress from the same ; desiring hym finally according to the k.h. & your gr. expectation, he wold, as moch as he possibly might, set forth the same. He said, first, that he was very sory that he could not cumme soner, as he desired ; & now cummen he wold not faile to do the best he could. Nevertheless where I said, that the commission shold be directed to your gr. alone, or joyntly to you & another legate, he said, that was not in his instructions, but expressly the contrary ; referring hymself not to his writing ; but to words spoken, as he said, by the k. h. at the More that evenyng he was there with the

k. h. & your gr. At which tyme, as he said, the k. h. said, that the quene might & wold refuse your gr.; and therefore it shuld be wel done your gr. medled not as judge in the matier. From this opinion we could not bring hym a good while; tyl at the last he said, he wolde conform hymself to our instructions. This was the effect of our communication with hym for that tyme.

And because the said Staphileus is here, as the Fr. kings oratour, for declaration of such charge as he had, to be shewed from the Fr. king, he repared to the popes ho. twyes without us; advertising your gr. that I, Sir Gregory, being with the popes ho. secretly in the evening next following, his ho. shewed *sub secreto*, al that the said Staphileus had said unto him concerning the kings matier: which was in effect, that he thought the cause good. And the popes ho. mervayling *de forma commissionis*, the said Staphile shuld answer, that he was never privy therunto, but was only instructed, that a general commission shuld be geven to a legat to be sent hens: & that the k. h. wold your gr. shuld not be judge, by reason the quene might refuse your gr. as suspect. When Staphileus had spoken with the popes ho. he thence repared unto us, & shewed us how moch he had moved the popes ho. in our matier, & that we shuld by his means have schort expedition, with such like words: nevertheles rownding us in the ear, he said, it was not to be stikked at for obtaining of the commission decretal: inasmoch as by a general commission the king might have his purpose, the sentence to be geven there schortely, & so afterward to be confirmed here: saying, that by his dexteritie he wold in such wise handel the matier, as the pope at his sute shold schortly graunt therunto. We dissembling knowlege of any thing by hym spoken to the popes ho. said, we had without hym obtained graunt of such commission, with secret promise of confirmation: & had ordered the matier in such sort, as it was on their part offered us; & we by



them desired to take it. Howbeit forasmoch as by our instructions we might not accept it, we therfore do stil persist in requiring the first: wherin we desired his help & furtherance. He said, he wold do the best he could.

The Friday before Palmes Sunday, the popes ho. appoynted *solennem consessum* of the Cardinals De Monte, & Sanctorum quatuor, Staphileus, & the Dean of the *Rote*, to dispute & reason upon the kings matier. Al which tyme we convened in the popes litill chambre, being then present at the same disputation an auditor of the *Rote*, called Paulus, & the Prothonotary Gambara. After every man was placed, the Bishop Staphileus had a long oration, conteyning his whole boke, & the reasons of the same; which lasted two houres. When he had spoken, the Cardinal Sanctorum quatuor began, & somewhat contraried Staphileus: repeting summarily what he had said, & inferring such reasons, as semed to make the contrary. Wherunto Staphileus answered. *Etiam incaluerat disputatio*. After they had reasoned a good whyle, I desyred of the popes ho. I might be herd to say somewhat to such reason as the card. Sanctorum quatuor had spoken; which were very frivolous, & semed to be *quæsitæ studio, ne deesset quod contradiceretur*. His ho. willed me to speke: and so I did reply to the Card. Sanctorum quatuor. Who then remitted his reasons to the Dean of the *Rote*, from whom he had them. And so the Dean of the *Rote* & I examined certain of those reasons, & tryed of what strength they were so playnly, as the popes ho. wel perceyved it, & how they weyed.

And forasmoch as after long altercation I perceyved that they had no substantial reasons; yet, saying, they doubted, wold not *cedere*; but when they were brought to a stay, evermore for a solution desired us to be content with a commission in a general forme, & after sentence gyven the same to be confirmed here. I, *habita præfatione*, desired the

popes ho. the cardynalls & thoder lerned men therè,  
 to note & pondre such words as I shold say of duty  
 & observance towards the see apostolique; neces-  
 sarily to be considered, & regarded for conservation  
 of the aucthoritie of the same; which were these.  
 That inasmoch as now the kingis matier hath ben  
 by them herde & debated, to know the justice of the  
 same, onles there be another resolution taken then I  
 perceyve they intend to make, hereupon shall be  
 gathered a mervelous opinion of your ho. this college,  
 & the aucthoritie of this see. For the kingis h. &  
 nobles of that realm, who shal be made privy here-  
 unto, shal nedys think, that either "*Sanctitas vestra,*  
*hij reverendissimi domini & doctissimi viri certum*  
*in hac causa respondere aut nolunt, aut non possunt.*  
*Si nolunt, inquit, nec dignantur erranti monstrari*  
*viam, cujus curam a Deo commissam habent; atq;*  
*adeo tanto principi, tam bene merito: deniq; quod*  
*ultro & gratis facere debeant, non faciunt, tot bene-*  
*ficijs provocati. O! simul & ingratissimum homi-*  
*num genus, & muneris sui negligentissimum. Imo,*  
*qui simplices esse debeant sicut columbæ, apertoq;*  
*pectore, pleni omni dolo & versutia & dissimulatione.*  
*Verbis omnia pollicentur, reipsa nihil præstant.*  
*Itaq; siquid ista moveant animos vestros, iterum*  
*atq; iterum petimus, efflagitamúsq;,, ut si causa sere-*  
*nissimi regis nostri justa vobis videatur, & bona fiat,*  
*quod pollicitum est nobis, ut talis judicetur. Sin*  
*mala videatur & iniqua, efficite quantum potestis,*  
*ut ne is princeps, quem tantum patronum confitemini,*  
*in ea re versetur diutius, aut longius progrediatur.*  
*In qua ex animi vestri judicio aut honor aut animæ*  
*salus periclitetur. Nolite deesse ei vestris consilijs;*  
*qui vobis semper adfuit tum consilio, tum ope, tum*  
*auctoritate. Neq; enim postulamus aliud a vobis*  
*quam justitiam, quam ita amplexatur & colit sere-*  
*nissimus rex noster, ut quicquid sinistre suspicentur*  
*alij, illam omnino sive pro matrimonio, sive contra*  
*matrimonium, steterit, id quod & vobis & orbi testa-*  
*tissimum vult sua majestas, animo lubentissimo sit*

sequuturus. Quod si regia majestas, & nobiles alij de voluntate vestra persuasi, an certum respondere possitis dubitabunt, quod necesse est faciant, quum aut nolle vos, aut non posse sit certissimum, animos sane durior subibit de hac sede cogitatio; clavem viz. scientiæ abstulisse Deum, atq; adeo explosa hactenus quorundam sententia incipiet non displicere, digna esse quæ mandentur flammis, pontificia jura, quæ ipsi etiam pontifici & suis sunt incertissima. Tristissimum quidem & durissimum est id opinari aliquos, non posse vos nodum hujus causæ explicare, quem ex rationibus serenissimi regis cernitis dissolutum. Gravius vero illud est, si cum potestis, non vultis, quum sententia vestra, quæcunq; sit, modo certa sit, favorem ejus principis promeretur, qui jam olim de vobis, quod non diffitemini, summa quæq; & plusquam omnia, promeritus sit."

These were my words, to thintent I might cause them openly to assent to us, "& extorquere illam simulatam hæitationem, & affectatam dubitationem," having no good colour of maintenance. Nevertheless we afterward perceyved such appoyntment was taken, that they shold alwayes doubt: so, as to my words thus spoken no man answered. But as is accustomed amongst frends, to move them to an indifferent way by compromise; so they desired us to take a mean way, & to be content with a general comission. When I perceyved they sung ever that song, & could by no means be brought from it, I said unto the popes ho. playnely, that by this covert dealing, & motions made to the general commission, I could perceyve no other thing ment, but that every man wold hereafter pretend ignorance in the matier, & wold kepe themself at libertie to resolve ther doubt for his parte hereafter, that shal have the better hand. *Et si Cæsar vicerit*, then they might with their honesties lean to hym. Howbeit I desired his ho. to pondre wel this matier. For albeit bfore the cause was in al circumstances disclosed & openyd unto them, such pretence wold have had some liklihood,

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yet now all the matier declared & ventilate, & ther sentence *in hanc aut illam partem* required, they persuading us to take a general commission, with promise that the sentence to be geven *contra matrimonium*, shalbe confirmed; “*Quod verbis vel nolunt, vel non audent, vel quacunq; ratione non faciant, reipsa fatentur, viz. causam videri ipsis bonam & justam, aut se famæ suæ prodigos, propriæq; salutis immemores ostendunt, ut causæ quam putant malam, in judicio tentando velint esse autores.*”

These words were patiently herd of al parties, but nothing answered to them directly. And so the day being then spent, the popes ho. did arise. Unto whom we said secretly, that his ho. might wel considre, to what part justice enclined: & that these men can shew no matier substantial, to impugne, that the kingis h. had writen. His ho. said, that he was not lerned, & to say truth, albeit it were a saying in the law, that *Pontifex habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris*, yet God never gave unto hym the key to open *illud scrinium*. Howbeit his ho. said, he wold after our departure know the opinions of the cardinals & auditours to what poynte we shuld rest. And so his ho. did: & shewed unto me Sir Gregory, afterward, that they wold advyse hym in no wyse to graunte the commission after the first forme.

On the morrow we retorned unto the popes ho. & spake roundly unto hym, as our instructions purporteth: & to that poynt, the kingis h. wold do it without hym. His ho. said, he wold it were doon; & to the other words, nothing but sighed & wyped his yees, saying, that in a mater, *in qua vertitur jus tertij*, he could do nothing without the counsail of them, & wysshed that yt were in his power to geve the k. h. somewhat depending oonly of his own particular hurt or dammage, without touching any other mans right, with such like words, nothing sounding to the furtherance: but found our self in utter desperation. Wherefore we saw no remedy but to reasort to the second degree. Which was afterward set forth



by me, Sir Gregory; who, as it was agreed, speking famylyarly with the popes ho. said, as of my self, that I wold know of my colleagues, whether they wil be content to take a general commission, soo his ho. pass in secret maner the decretal commission; the same not to come *in publicum*, but in case your ho. do not confirme the sentence; & ells to be kept secret. Wherunto his ho. answered, that yt were wel doon to move us of yt: and he hymself wold in the mean tyme conside that matier.

Upon Palme Sondag we went again to the popes ho. & had communication of these commissions: and as concerning the passing of the commission decretal in secret maner, his ho. said, he had resolved himself, “Hoc dilemmate: si justè fieri potest, debet fieri publicè, si non posset fieri justè, dedecore maximo foret, & interim agitare conscientiam, fecisse secreté.” To that I said, “Quia justum est, ideo deberet fieri publicè; sed quia metus Cæsaris facit, ne fiat publicè, fiat sine metu secreté.” Which if his ho. would do, we have some hope that your gr. by your dexterite shal so handle that, as the same shal be taken in good part of the k. h., & do as good stede for entreteining his gr. benevolent & good mynd towards this see, as though the said commission were passed to be shewed *publicé*. Hereunto we could get no answer: but so departed. Assuring your gr. that the popes ho. althowe he perceyveth better & sooner al that is spoken, than any other, yet to geve an answer, ye or na, *nunquam vidi tam tardum*.

The same night, after we were departed from the pope, we sent for Simonetta, Dean of the Rote, like as we did sondry tymes bfore: forasmoch as he had no lodging, where we might repare unto hym: and when he came unto us, first we gave hym thanks for his labours taken in this matier, & said, albeit they were not so fruytful as we loked for, yet men pay *pro cultura agri, etiam si segetem non ferat*. And so shuld the k. h. for his labours & paines. Upon which words & such like, we entered communication

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of the kingis matier. And brevely, to shew unto your gr. the effect of that conference. Forasmoch as heretofore the same Simonetta at sondry tymes had moch extolled the kingis goodness & benefits towards this see, & that therefore he accompted hymself obliged to do al he possibly might for the k. h. we desyred hym, that setting apart “personam consultoris induendo personam boni amici, qui causam amici ducit suam,” he wold shew us his opynyon in the kingis matier; saying, that synnes we were at a poynt, not to styck any further in the first commission, he neded not to fear, but might speke *liberè* his mynd & opynyon.

Hereunto he made answer, that the fact which is alledged, with the circumstance proved there, the causes were in his opynyon gret & just. We said, we wold signyfy his opynyon to the k. h. and your gr. And although that part is had there *pro comperto*, yet his opynyon shold wel confirme that persuasion: saying, we had no other matier unto hym, but to know his mynde afore, & geve hym thanks. Then we famyliarly asked hym, why he did not say soo to the popes ho.? Hereunto he could geve no direct answer; but said, it was better to kepe the common course, thenne to have such a commission, as we desyred. And so put off communication of that matier. These words the said Symonetta had with Master Fox & me, Steven Gardyner; & afterwards before me, Sir Gregory, & us together, affirmed the same.

Thus he departing from us, I, Steven Gardyner, entended to the devising of a general commission for a legate, with such clauses as be conteyned in our instructions, as your gr. shal perceave by the minute which Master Fox bringeth with him, with annotations in the margin, conteyning the considerations of every clause. Hitherto in our first letters, & these, we have in our wrytings doon as they do, “Qui dum comedunt, presentem cibi saporem probant, quem in concoctione molesta improbare coguntur. Hacte-

nus verba optima & dulcissima," & specially for graunting the general commission, which in execution when it cummyth to the poynt, we fynd *effectum amara*. Hertofore yt was said unto us the commission shuld be of our devising, now when we had made yt, "Omnes inierunt consilium, ut caperent, sermone & verbis optimis struant calumnias, & sincerissimo sensu scripta pervertant:" as I shal brevely note, and Mr. Fox can more amply shew unto your gr.

First, we shewed the commysion by us devised to Simonett, as the popes ho. appoynted us to do. For in these cawses his ho. wold of hymself do nothing, for any thing we could do. Simonett, when he had red the commission, he sayd, he thought the matier was good, saving in the latter end. But he said it was *nimis facunda & ornata*. We said, that *salvâ rerum substantiâ*, we regarded not the words. The next day we went to the Cardynal Sanctorum quatuor, who, by relation of the said Simonett, had hard of our commission & the tenor therof. And therefore shewing us what he undrestode of our commission by Simonett, answering, as he had herd it red, that it could not be graunted; & said, that the syck man shewing his disease to the physician, doth not hymself proportion the medycyne, but takith it after the physicians discretion. Hereunto I said, that the sicknes & the physician be many tymes of such qualities, as the sick mans advice may moch help the physician: specially when the sick man knoweth his own disease, & hath any lerning or knowlege in physick. Which concurr in this case: the disease also being of such sort as the same is curable many ways; and so red unto hym the commission by us devised. The Card. Sanctorum quatuor saying, that the beginnyng pleased hym not, retorned to read unto us that he had sent by Mr. Secretary, & after a lytil alteration upon both commissions, said, that yt was orderyd by the popes ho. that we shuld go to the Card. De Monte. And so we did, assem-

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bling there, for that purpose, the Cardynal Sanctorum quatuor, Simonett & Gambara. Where eftsones we red the commission: which doon, without any disputation, they desired us to depart; saying, that they wold apart consult upon certain articles, & not alter very many thyngs, but do so as we shuld have cause to be contented. We desyred them to determine ther pleasures schortly: for Mr. Fox must nedes depart, & Ester approached, & *dies ceremoniales*, when nothing could be expedite. They said, they wold send for us agayn that night. Al that afternoon & the next day, tyl yt was night, we could not by any means possible know what they had doon: and so went now to the pope, from the pope to them; & fynally sent for Symonett, & desyred hym to shew what was doon. He said, that he was sworn he shold shew nothing.

Upon Tuysday after Palme Sondag, about two howres bifore night, we went to the popes ho. who then shewed a minute of a commission by them reformed & subscribed with their hands. Wherin, when we saw the additions, detractions & corrections, I began to lay to the popes charge his promise made concerning this commission, & shewed what doubleness might be noted in this dealing: & that his ho. having mynde to delude & delay us, had chosen these men as instruments, with as sore words as we could devise. Saying, tnat first, his ho. protested he wold regard no stile, so justice wold bear the cause. And now we passed disputation of justice, we fynd the same difficultie in the stile. His ho. said, he must nedys use other mennys counsails; & such other words. Howbeit fynally condescended to this poynt, that yf Simonett wold say, the minute after our devysing was nothing contrary to justice, we shuld have yt: & his ho. wold fulfil his promyse in the stile. Hereupon Simonetta was sent for, but he wold nothing answer directly or resolutely, *absentibus cardinalibus & illis inconsultis*; & it was then two howres within night. There we fel in reasoning with Simo-



nett, & *incalescente disputatione*, trusting by importunitie to have obteyned our purpose, taryed with the popes ho. five houres within night; which, after counting of the clock there, was oon of the clock after midnight. At which tyme we departed with noon other resolution, but that the day following, bifore dyner, weshuld have a certain answer, wherunto to rest.

That day following, which was Wedensday, two howres bifore dyner tyme, & byfore the popes ho. had herd his mass, we repared to his presence; bringing with us bokes of the law for justifying such places of our commission, as they had noted, & added somewhat unto them, "*pertinens ad suggillationem, tum honoris futurorum iudicum, tum etiam fidei nostræ,*" being at that tyme with the popes ho. the Cardynalls De Monte & Sanctorum quatuor & also Simonetta, & so entred a new disputation; in which, *libro iudice*, it was shewed unto the popes ho. "*Quæ calumniabantur & quæ, optime posita, sine ratione corrigebant.*" At last they began *amicè* to loke upon, & rede with us the commission, & to correct it by consent: saving in certain points, as more playnly apperith in the corrections: & so departed from the popes ho. for that tyme, beyng then two of the clock at afternone, with promyse that agaynst night we shuld have the minute clerly fynysshed to our good contentment.

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The same evening we reparyd again to the popes holynes. And then fynding our minute altred from that was agreed on before, beganne a new disputation with Simonett, the cardinals being absent. And at last we differed but in two words in the whole commission; as the sign universal, *omnem* to be added to *posteritatem*; & the word *volente*, to the clause *volente aut impedito*: herunto Simonetta wold nothing answer without thadvyse of the cardinalls. Wherefore the night being then far past, the popes ho. willed hym & Gambara to go to the cardinalls howses, to ask them their opinions upon these words: & so they did. The cardinals sent word, that they

were making collation, & on the morrow wold loke their bokes therin.

Here began a new tragedy. We complayned that we were deluded & skorned, & told the popes ho. This is not the way to enterteyn the favour of prynces, *Et vinum conspurcat infus aqua*. Hereupon I declared evidently & manifestly unto his ho. that these men have nothing doon in correcting the commission, of lerning, but only of ignoraunce & suspicion, *putantes sub omni verbo latere scorpionem*: far discrepant to their former words unto us. Howbeit we take al this as doon by his ho. commandment, *Qui oculos habet, & non videt*. And yf hi ho. be not in this matier *obnoxius delicto*, yet, as the law sayeth, *Qui opera utatur talium hominum*, he is *Obnoxius ex quasi delicto*; & must bere the blame of ther doyings. And herupon I began, as in the kinges name & your gr. *expostulare cum Gambara*, to procure this nontumely, & to put the k. h. & your gr. by good words in comfort to send orators, & when they be here, first, to go about “*inebriare bonis verbis, & dulcibus sirenum vocibus incantare.*” Seconde, “*Conari circumvenire per suos* ;” meanyng that they had moved Staphileus to be content with a generall commission. Thirdly, as men make hawks to the fist, “*Pretendere pugno carnem, & inhiantes & sequentes semper ludificare.*”

Gambara for his defence said, that he spake no words of comforth to the k. h. ne your gr., but such as he had in commission to say. I then, *converso sermone ad papam*, sayd, that his ho. handelyd the k. h. as thowe he had been the most ingrate man, & of mean sort, that could be mynding in his requests (to have so little regard)\* to requyte the same. The popes ho. sayd nothing, but sighed & wyped his eyes: & therupon Staphileus turning hymself to us, said, that he toke yt as Goddes wyll, that we shuld come after hym, or ells the difficultie hereof shuld not have been beleved. I sayd, I thought it *Goddys wil* indede, to thintent relation made by us of what

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\*The sense here somewhat imperfect, unless with some such supply of words.

condition men be here towards them, *qui optima promeruerunt*, the favour of that prynce, who now only favorith them, shold be withdrawn, & taken away: "Ut inclinata jam sedes apostolica tota corrueret, communi consensu atq; applausu omnium." At these words the popes ho. casting his armes abroad, bad us put in the words we varied for: & therewith walked up & down the chamber; casting now and then his armes abroad, we standing in a great silence. And within a whyle his ho. *compositis affectibus*, said unto us, That he was very sory he could not satisfie the k. h. desire of hymself, without the counsail of other. I answered, that I was sory to see his ho. had not so moch confidence in the k. h. & your gr. as was supposed he had had. Thus we departed for that time, being an howre past midnight.

The divers tempests passed over, as Mr. Fox can more particularly shew unto your gr., after the commissions were writen & sealed, we reasorted eftsones to the popes ho., & being with hym the foresaid cardinals, al things were convened & spoken after a frendly & loving maner on ther part, with rehersal of the kingis benefits & your gr. merits, & how glad they wold be this matier were brought to conclusion after the kingis desire. We alwayes answered, we thought this commission shuld not satisfie the k. h. & your gr. Nevertheles we being *infima membra ecclesie* wold, *salva fide*, make such relation, & temper it so, as might further the acceptation of this commission. They desired us so to do, & to omyt & forget such altercations as had chanced. Fynally, his ho. desired us to say & write to the k. h. & your gr. that *rebus stantibus ut nunc sunt*, the sending of this commission is a declaration agaynst themperor, & that he com-mitith hymself to your protection.

As yet the popes ho. hath not required the kinges pollicitation: & I do not offre it, abyding answer from yr gr. to such lettres as we wrot from Paris to your gr. concerning the same; and tyl I shal undrestond how this commission contentith your gr. being

in my judgement as good as can be devised. And althow it be not in al poyntes so open as I wold have had it, & did conceyve the same, yet in effect it hath al can be desired, except the clauses of Confirmation & Revocation. Which of what moment they be I have written my opynyon to your gr., & noted, in margine of the commissions by them graunted, & asked by us, the considerations of every clause & word material.

Here is no cardinal, besides Campegius, mete in al qualities *obire hanc legationem*, but that age, or sum other circumstance, expressed particularly by the lettres of me, Sir Gregory, to your gr. hertofore, (are impediments.) Wherefore he fayling, there is no hope of any other. And to know his mynd, I Steven Gardynerepare now to Rome.

p. 72. The commissions *in omnem eventum* be directed unto your gr. & the said Campegius, to your gr. alone *adjuncto*, &c. Which commissions, althow they be not written in so fresh hand as they by our mynd shuld have; yet they be to be taken in good part, being here so few writers; & noon that can skil, but one, who hath written these commissions & dispensations twyes, & at the last skaped with *sine aliqua menda in notabili loco*.

As towching the sending of letters to the quene, inasmoch as the commission decretal doth not pass, the same letters cannot conteyne al specialtie of the mater. But in our judgment the popes ho. hath devysed a good way, to send a frier with a breve of credence, & so to shew her what he thinkith. Wherin I beseech your gr. I may shortly know your pleasure, & also for deliverance of the kingis pollicitation, with your gr. mynd also, whether we shal now geve any rewards to them that have taken paynes, as Symonetta & other, the commission passed in this form; with knowledge of your gr. pleasure also for my retorn, in case Cardinal Campegius cannot, by reason of disease, shortly cumme.

We have moved the popes ho. as towching the



canonization of K. Henry the vijth.; who answerith, that he is very wel content to make schort process therin; but the matiers must be examyned here, requyring a nombre of cardinalls therat, with other ceremonies; which cannot be doon there. Wherefore yf my Lord of Canturbury & my Lord of Winchester, who have examyned the matier *in partibus*, do send the proces hither, as ther commission requyred, the sentence of canonization shal shortly pass here. As concerning pardon to be graunted to Wyndesore Colledge we can do nothing, abiding certainte from your gr. of the name of that colledge, & how it is incorporate, *ne quid in ea re erretur*.

I spake to the popes ho. *in genere* for the matiers of your gr. colledge: saying, that writing to your gr. I wold nedys speke somewhat therof. His ho. bad me write, that al things shold pass, which I could resonably desyre. Al other specialties Mr. Fox shal declare them unto your grace: for which cause I omitt to write, being by reason of crying, speking, chafing, & writing, ill distempered: trust that your gr. wil have consideration therof, & accept this rude letter in good part, written by night, & both minute of letters with my own hand: praying Almighty God long to preserve your good grace. At Orviet, the Monday in Ester weke.

## NUMBER XXV.

*Dr. Gardiner & Sir Gregory de Cassalis, ambassadors with the Pope, to Cardinal Wolsey.*

PLEASITH it your gr. to understand, that the Foxii MSS. popes ho. understanding that the emperor hath, in answer to the kingis intimation, made mention of the kingis matier, taking the same to stomach & herte, sayth, that by graunting this commission, Denyal of Inhibitions, which shal be requyred with the confirmation of the sentence, which must be passed by

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hym, he thynkith verily, that themperor shal take yt more dyspleasantly, thenne yf his ho. had declared hymself specially: considering the general being advertised of our sute hereof, hath freshly made sute to the contrary. By reason wherof his ho. findeth hymself in a marvelous perplexitie & confusion among them of the liege, putting his only hope in the k. h. & your gr. *in quorum verbo laxat rete*. For the Venecians, Florentynes, & the Duke of Ferrare, “convenerunt in unum (as it is said) novo fœdere inito, & super vestem suam miserunt sortem.” The Fr. king differreth either to doo, or promyse any thing: & his ho. advertised out of Fraunce, how the Fr. k. nothing effectually spekith in his just cause, is in total desperation of attayning any thing at his hand, onles it be at the instant request of the k. h. & your gr. persuasions & reasons: for his ho. sayth, he knoweth wel, that yf the Fr. k. had earnestly ment that the Venecians shold restore the cities of Ravenna & Servia, & had in such sort pressed the Venecians so to do, the said cities had been restored long or this tyme: like as certain of the seignory of Venice have signified to his ho. advertiseing hym, that the grete maister hath taken the conducting of that matier with the Fr. k. thinking hym to be only the let that other resolution is not taken in the Fr. court.

The popes ho. wyllid us also to advertise your gr. that the Fr. k. dayly callith upon hym to declare hymself. On thoder side Mounsr. de Lautrek sendeth hym word, that yf his ho. do not declare hymself, he wil take hym as encmy. Amonges al which requests nothing certain is proponed unto hym, upon what conditions he shold declare hymself; but wold, that *sub spiritu charitatis* oon their partie his ho. defrauded of his cities, he shold entre the same lege, *quasi pactis servatis*, the same cities neither restored indede, nor promyse made of their restitution. His ho. thinketh, that of good equyte, yf they think he ought, as a confederate of the leyge, declare hymself, they shold at the lest offre hym promyse & make hym

sure, to have that is his own, when he hath so doon. But therof he can hear no word; ne any thing is towched, wherunto his ho. shuld trust: saying, that in this confusion thingis shal procede, unles your gr. after your accustomed dexteritie, enterprise the direction therof with the Fr. k. & his counsail: appoynting by capitulation what the popes ho. shal do, & what the same shal trust unto therfore. For where it is dayly requyred, that upon declaration made, his ho.. shuld procede to the deprivation of themperor, as wel of his empire, as also the realm of Naples, his ho. thinketh, that *ista non sunt præcipitanda*, but *maxima providentia transigenda*, as wel *in modo rei*, as also *in re*.

First, *in modo rei*, his ho. is of opinion, that process made of deprivation after hostilitie declared shuld not have *tantum ponderis*, as yf the same were doon by hym, interponing hymself as *mediatorum pacis*; & upon that ground fynding themperor obstinate to make process of deprivation. Which shold be justifiable in the law. Wheras else *facta declaratione ex liga*, al his process might be impugned, *quasi ab hoste factus*: wherin he wil be advised by your grace.

Seconde, *in re & ipso imperio & regno Neapolitano*. What shal be doon with them, *cæsare privato*. For if his ho. shold *privare cæsarem*, & the Fr. k. have in mynde, for recovery of his children, to help themperor to them again, either *belli nullus esset finis*, or else his ho. must *desultoria levitate privare & restituere*, at the pleasure of the Fr. k. Wherof shuld ensue *maximum odium ecclesiæ*; & *ejus postea auctoritas in ea re vilipenderetur*. *Appareret enim non ob justitiam factum sed gratiam*. And in case the Fr. k. determine to make noon offre of them, yet it were to be foreseen bifore sentence of deprivation, who were most meet to be chosen; & that thing concluded, both the princes to sollicite the same, & the popes ho. to concurre therin, *ut electio talis procuretur*: lest there fal such an other error, as was in the election: wherin the popes ho. thinkith, that he shal

have at his devotion foure of the electors. Like deliberation is to be had also for the realm of Naples : & that the person, to whom the said realm of Naples shalbe gyven, be first agreed upon by both princes. Which things by your gr. grete wysdom foreseen, maturely digested, & by certain capitulation agreed, & condescended unto by both princes, there shal be a ground wherupon to work in so grete a matier ; or else that failing, *videbatur similis homini, qui ædificavit supra harenam.*

The matiers, althow they be of great importance, yet as hitherto *solī lenitati nituntur, & gravitatem consiliorum vestrorum abesse intelligit.* For yf the Fr. k. wold have themperor depryved, it agreeth not with that request, to let the going of the Bishop of Piscoye, who as yet can get no saulf conduit.

His ho. saieth, that by letters dated the xxx day of the last month, sent from the Cardinal Salviatis, resident in the French court, is advertised of the commyng of the Vicecount De Turena towards his ho. from the court : having in commission but only *verba bona*, such as were given unto the Prothonotary Gambara : & how that the Fr. k. hath sent oon to Veneyse for the popes matier, without any special request to be made unto them, but only in general termes. Which the Venecians, onles they have the same effectual words spoken, or writen unto them from the Fr. k. which they have from the k. h. it is to be thought no effect shal ensue. And the matiers of Italy, being in such case as they be, & Mounsr. De Lautrek so prospering, the popes ho. thinketh, that the Fr. k. might, without fear, speke roundely to the Venecians, which they wold moch regard. The said cardinal said also in his letters, that my Lord of Bath shewed hym, that he had nothing to speke in the popes matiers for Ravenna & Cervia, untill such tyme as answer were cumme of the kingis letters, sent to Veneise : wherunto as yet no answer is made, althow the same were delyvered xij dayes past. And by such letters as I, Sir Gregory, have receyved thens,



it is to be judged & thought it shal be contrary to the popes purpose. The popes ho. desyred us to wryte the premisses to your gr. saying, that for ordering them as your gr. shal think good for his comfort & relief, *ad vestram prudentiam confugit, tanquam ad sacram aram.*

It hath been written to the Prothonotary Gambara, that Mounsr. Moret, at his being in England, shold have said unto the k. h. & your gr. how the said prothonotary, at his being with the Fr. k. shold have moch pressed hym for Modena & Regium. Which forasmoch as your gr. requyred hym to the contrary, he wold be loth shold be persuaded unto your grace: & specially considering the same is not trew. The said prothonotary desired to write unto your gr. therof, & to notifie unto the same, that after oon denyal made by the Fr. k. *converso ad alia sermone*, he spake no more therof.

Furthermore, forasmoch as the popes ho. is desirous to have a nuncio resident with the k. h. the same to be such a personage, & of such qualities as might be grate & accepted of his majestie & your gr. his ho. desireth the same to signifie your gr. opinion & mynd in that behaulf: so as according therunto he may provide oon accordingly.

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This day the popes ho. shewed us letters, sent unto the same from Jeane, the copie wherof we send unto your gr. herewith: willing us to write, that his ho. thinkith the newes from thens to be of such importance, as onles good order be taken, it is to be feared, lest the Fr. k. shal lose both the devotion of that city, & also such sommes of mony as they have offred, & by good dexteritic might have been induced to pay. Wherof I, Sir Gregory, wrote unto your gr. by my former letters. Wherefore the popes ho. thinkith, that yf your gr. take paines in componing that matier, it shal moch help the common cawse: wheras ells *nova mutatio illius status contra sententiam regis Gallorum*, might gretely encourage theneemies, like as your gr. of your wysdome can conside.

Thus having noon other matier of importance to write besides the newes of Naples, which Master Fox shal shew your gr. by mouth, I shal desist from farther molesting your gr. with my rude writing: praying Almighty God to preserve your grace.

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## NUMBER XXVI.

*Dr. Fox to Dr. Gardiner; giving him a relation of his reception at court, upon his return from his embassy.*

MAYSTER Doctour, In my most hartie maner I commend me unto you: advertising the same, that the xxvijth day of April, I wrote two lettres unto you: the oon from Paris, ascertayning you of myn arryval, & other occurrents there; the other in the felds upon my horse back iiij myles from Clermonte; signifying unto you, how that encountring Mr. Silvester Darius in the same place, who thenne was sent from the k. h. & my lords gr. ambassador into Spayne, I had receyved of the same my lords gr. most honorable letters, directed to you, Mr. Gregory, & to me. And unfolding the same according to ther purport, I had eftsones closed, sealed, & sent them to my l. of Bath, to be conveyed unto your hands with al diligence, as my trust is they be long ere this tyme. After which my letters sent unto you, I contynued stil my jornay, & came to Calais the xxviii day of April: wher abyding passage untill the second day of May, entred shipp, & arryved that night at Sandwich about xj of the clock. The day following, being Sondag, I made al diligence possible towards Grenewich, where the king lay, trusting there to have found my lords gr. with the k. h.: which undoubtedly I had doon, yf I had founde no less gratitude in the maior of Canturbury, & the baylyffes of Rochestre & Gravesend, then we did in the territory of Florence: albeit his gr. was departed thens two howres bfore

my comming thider, being then fyve of the clock at night. At which my repaire the k. h. being advertised of the same, commanded me to go unto Maisteres Annes chamber; who at that tyme, for that my lady princess, & divers others of the quenes maydens, were sick of the smal pocks, lay in the gallery in the tiltyard.

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And so admitted unto her presence, after declaration made unto the same in generaltie, first, of such expeditions as were obteigned; & sith of your singular fidelitie, diligence, & dexteritie, used not onely in the impetration therof, but also in hastening the commyng of the legate, with your most hartie & humble commendations: which she most thankfully receyved, & seamed to take the same most mervailously to harte, rejoyce, & comfort: oft tymes in communication calling me Mayster Stevens, with promise of large recompence for your good acquytal in the premiss.

The kingis grace came into the same chambre: after whose entre she departed. And the k. h. calling me apart, first welcomed me home: sith commaunded, *quam possem brevissimè*, to shew hym what was doon in his cause. To which, after delivery of the popes lettres, which his highnes cawsed me to rede, & conteyned nothing but credence: as also of your lettres, which he secretly red to hymself; & also the letters of Bishop Staphile, which he red not: I answered, that wheras his highnes had gyven us in commaundment, bfore our departing out of England, to obteign a dispensation & a commission, according to such tenor & form as was here devised, we had, following his said commaundment, & my lords gr. instructions, pretermitted nothing, which might in any wise conduce to the furtherance therof. And how that first concerning the dispensation, we proponyng unto the popes ho. the nature of the said dispensation, how that it touched no poynt, ne pertained *ad jus tertij*, being also of such sort, that if his ho. wold graunt unto al princes christened the like therof, it

might be to the grete quietnes of Christendom: many void & frivolous titles, & occasions of debates & variaunces, wont heretofore to be moved upon such ground, as in the said dispensation were taken away by such relaxation, & grace of the see apostolique clerly abolished: his ho. very promptly & facily had condescended unto the graunting therof; & that his ho. had passed the same without alteration of any sentence or word, & sent the same by me unto his highnes, desyring the same thankfully to accept it, like as the same did procede from the good assured hart, & benevolent mynd of his ho. alwayes dedicated & consecrated, to do al that may be to the good satisfaction of his majesty.

Furthermore, wheras we had made three degrees & kinds of commission, eche to be obtained in default of thother, although we had so instant & importune sute for the obtaining of the first, called *The Decretal*, as we possibly might, yet forsomoch as after long debating & consultation had upon the same with the popes ho. the cardinals, & other lerned men there, we could neither induce them by no persuasion, ne dulce, ne poynante, openly to confes or affirme, that the cause by us alleged, imployed so manifest justnes, that the popes ho. might of right wysness geve out his decree without hering thodre partie, & make a comen lawe to be observed of all the world upon such a fact, containing so doubtful justnes & equite: neither in our opinions & judgments, we could perceave the said decretal commission to be of such nature, that any process might honorably be made by vertue thorof, ne that it could ever come *in lucem*, without a great slaunder to the cawse; but that it shuld rather minstre to the adversarie such cawses *calumniandi* & *tergiversandi*, as might mervelously impeche the schort expedition of the same: ne that had any other use, strength or vertue, but one; which was in case the popes ho. by death, or captivitie prevented, wold not, or did not, confirme the sentence geven by delegates, that



then it might serve *ad confirmationem*: ye, in consideration therof had devysed another degree, & fashion of commission, conteyning al poynts of the said decretal, save two, viz. *Sententiam pontificis de jure*, with promyse of confirmation, & no revocation; which commission, being not only in our judgments, but also in the popes, the cardinals, & al other the lerned men there, of such sufficiencie, honorable sort, accustomed justnes & uprightnes, as nothing could be devised or requyred to be added therunto; & might stand either with the honor of the see apostolique, or his majestie, & the final determination of his cawse, his ho. had passed also right gladly, & had sent the same unto his majestie, desyring hym with no less gratitude to accept it, then it had proceeded from his holines.

And as concerning the two poynts omitted, I shewed his h. although they were not expressed in the commission, yet his ho. was right wel contented, & moch propence to satisfie his ma. therin to the uttermost of his power; & as he might do with justice & equite, under this maner: that is to say, his ho. wold make unto his h. so faithful & assured promyse under his seal, as might be requyred, that the sentence ones gyven bi the delegates, he wold most gladly, without respect or delay, confirme the same, & by the same also promyse never to revoke, ne geve inhibition to the contrary of the same commission.

All which thingis his h. semed to take mervelously thankfully; & made mervellous demonstrations of joy & gladnes, calling in Maisteres Anne, and cawsing me to repete the same thing agayn before her. And so inferred many questions. First, what towardnes & benevolence I perceaved the popes ho. to be of towards his majesty; which I ceased not *verbis extollere*; rehersing how honorably his ho. enterteyned us, admytting us into his presence, & geving audience, whensoever we requyred the same. And what paynes his ho. toke in hering & examining his cawse; what words he spake unto us in extolling

his benefits towards that see : how moch his ho. pondered the imminent daungers to this realm, in case the kingis purpose might not take effect ; of what opinion his ho. privatly was in the justnes of this cause : and so toke occasion to shew his h. how these opynyons were ingenerated & persuaded to the popes ho. by relation of my lords grace : & that without his letters we shold have obtained nothing there : for that the popes ho. shewed us, it was reaported unto hym long bifore our cummyng, the kingis grace followed in this matier *privatum aliquem affectum* ; & that she was with child, & of no such qualities as shuld be worthie that majestie. Albeit the contrary herof, so testified & declared by my lords grace, was of such waight & importaunce in the popes brest & opinion, that afterwards his ho. leaned to justice, & shewed hymself mervelous prone & glad to satisfie his requests so far as equite wold support & defend the same.

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Sith he asked me what consultation was made by us with the lerned men of that court. Wherunto I answered, mentioning the disputations & *diuturnos congressus*, which we had solely before the pope, & privatly in Mr. Gregory his howse. Wherin I ceased not to declare your lerning & vehemencie used ; & also Mr. Gregory his diligence & auctoritie. “ De quibus malo aliorum prædicatione constet tibi, quam meis verbis. Certe sic mihi visus est affectus rex erga te, ut sperem sore, quum nos omnes amici tui felicissime collocatam hanc operam tuam gloriamur.” Fynally, his h. demaunded of me what provision was made for recusation & appellation ? I answered, there was inserted in the commission words, wherby the same was taken away so far as the law wold suffre, & might be expressed by words ; as these, “ omni appellatione & recusatione remotis, & citra omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum.” Which words declaring unto hym, he semed somewhat to be satisfied : albeit he said in that matier he wold my lords gr. judgement ; & so commaunded me

to go to his gr. that night, & to shew hym the premisses.

Before I could come to Duresme-place, wheras my lords gr. lieth now (the hal of York-place, with other edifices there, being now in building, my lords gr. intending most sumptuously & gorgeously to re-paire & furnish the same) it was past ten of the clock at night. And although my lords gr. was then in his bed, yet understanding of my cummyng, it pleased his gr. to admitt me unto his presence. To whom declaring as bifore, & therto more specially how moch difficulty we found there in the passing of the commission obtained: & how that by no wayes we could impetrate the decretall his gr. semed mervellously perplexed, thinking this commission to be of no better value then that was sent by Gambara. And after moch communication, he commaunded me to depart for that night, & to leave behind me the said commission, with the popes & your lettres, & & your *rationes justificatorias commissionis expeditæ*; which after his gr. had red in the morning, & his high wysdom well considered & ponderyd the same; calling unto hym the Monday at afternone Maister Doctor Bell & me to rede the same before hym, & in the presence of my Lord of Rochford, his gr. opinion was moch confirmed, & was utterly persuaded, *astipulantibus etiam illis*, the said commission to be such as could be noon better excogitated or devised; & that the decretal commission was not to be shewed *in publicum*; & that ther might have been *recusatio & appellatio*, as wel yf process had been made by it, as by this, with many other reasons, which he of his innate & excellent wysdome most quickly invented, to the justification of your doing in this matier; with moch prayse & lawd geving unto you for the same.

And so departing for that night, his gr. appoynted the morrow to have had Dr. Wolman & Dr. Benet, with other, to consult with them upon the said commission; commanding me to go on the morow unto the k. h. & reoport his gr. said opinion in the pre-

p. 79. misses: & furthermore; what new expedition his gr. proposed to make unto you, to the hole & perfit consummation of the kingis desires; which by me declared unto his h. & hieghly approving the same, he remitted me again unto my lord his gr. that night; at which my commyng, his gr. had not spoken with the said doctours, his gr. being so occupied & deteined al that day in commen matters of the realm, with other of the kinges counsail, that he could not attend therunto. Nevertheles on the morow, being Weddensday at afternone, they al assembled before hym; and fynally, as it was reaported afterward unto me, being then absent, & by my lords commaundment sent that morning to Grenewich, they al agreed to my lords former opinion, eche man for his part extolling your wysdom, dexterity, & right excellent good conducting of this cawse.

Albeit, after my retorning from Grenewich, that afternoon my lords gr. calling Mr. Peter & me, & instructing of such form of answer as his gr. entended to make to the popes lettres, & other, his gr. also commaunded me to write unto you, under this tenor: although the k. h. & his gr. also, considering your approved wysdom & knowlege in the lawes, & thereto great paynes & labours used & susteigned by you in the impetration of the said commission & dispensation; with that the same hath proceded from the popes ho. & other his assessors there, purely, sincerely, without corruption or affection, other thenne to justice; and the same is here thought of al men to be so vailable & sufficient, as can be required, accept & take the said commission & dispensation so thankfully, & themself so satisfied with the same, that they repute & think themself not only singularly obstringed & bound to the popes ho. & the same of no gret urgent necessite to be *amplius urgenda* & *solicitanda*, for any more ample commission, or farther validation therof; “sed etiam passim ac palam deprædicent admirantúrque virtutes tuas, nec cessant in hanc vocem prorumpere, O! non æstimandum the-



saurem, Margaritámq; regni nostri;" to the comfort & rejoyce of us your pore frends here.

Yet my lords gr. as of hymself, by his hiegh wysdom, perpending & pondering the exoneration of his own conscience; & sith the consent & concord, opinion & sentence of other the prelates here: and fynally, the chaunces of mortalitie, & such other as may of likelyhod fortune in this cause, to the total ruine & subversion of the same; willeth & desireth you eftsones to sollicite & move the popes ho. & to experiment with the same, al kindys of persuasions you possibly by your wysdom & rhetorick can devyse & excogitate, to graunt the commission decretal in most secret fashion & maner, to be sent hither unto his gr. for these cawses. First, his gr. considereth, how this decree & sentence ones geven by the popes ho. & *judicio ecclesiæ*, might & ought to be unto his conscience *amussis* & *norma*, not onely to direct, instruct, & form the same, how to procede in this matier, especially in defining & determining the law upon those poyntes, whose justice is not yet so manifest, but by tergiversation of the adversary may peradventure be eftsones called into controversie; but also might be alwayes unto hym a sure & inexpugnable defence agaynst al detractours, & such as hereafter maliciously shold attempt the violation of the said sentence & decree: to whom it might alwayes be answered, his gr. judgment was agreable & conform to that was gyven by the church, & that his gr. hath not varied from that was promulgated & enacted by auctoritie of the same. Another cause is, for that having such commission decretal, his gr. doubteth not, but by mean therof, he shal facily induce al other, which ye know to be of thadversaries part here, to be of oon conformitie in sentence, & to concurr with his gr. in the same opinion, judgment & decree. Which yf his gr. might attayne, like as he thinketh the same shuld inestimably conduce, not only to the justification, but also to the honorable & perpetual establishing of the said cawse; his gr. having alwayes

wherewith he may “justissimè obstruere ora calumniantium, & temere dissentientium:” so without the said commission decretal his gr. fearith he can by no other means persuade them, “ut in eandem sententiam conspirent,” they being “tam pertinaciter addictis illi sententiæ tuendæ quam semel susceperunt.”

Farthermore, my lords gr. advertising & noting “varios humanæ vitæ casus, quibus vita mortalium multis nominibus obnoxia est,” thinketh to enter first, *Pelagus illud judiciorum*, openly to ventilate & examyn the same cawse, to labour & endeavour by al means possible to bring it to perfit determination, end & conclusion: & yet al those his doings, to hang upon “sola voluntate pontificis, scil. si velit confirmare.” Whose *voluntas* may be *infinitis modis* letted, yea & *prorsus* alienated from that towardnes & benevolence, which he is of now towards the kingis hieghnes, he could not “subterfugere notam summæ temeritatis, & nihil aliud quam frustra nitendo odium quærere videretur:” like as of your wysdom ye have oft tymes hertofore considered & waied the premisses, & also openly declared the same there unto the popes ho. so habundantly, & with such energie, “ut ego tam multis non aliud videar facere, quam sus Mineram & bene memorem temere monere.”

Fynally, it is specially to be noted & regarded, & the same by your good dexteritie to be persuaded unto the popes ho. how moch it might conduce to the weal & restauration of that see, my lords gr. to be of such authoritie, favor, credit, & estimation with the k. h. & so by stedfast & indissoluble amite colligate unto the same; that whatsoever his gr. shuld advyse, exhort, & counsail, his h. shuld be by the same facily condescended unto the good accomplishment therof. And by what means may that be so perfectly attained, the k. h. being so desirous of good succes in this his cawse, as & yf the popes ho. of his paterne goodnes & benignitie, shuld now only at the contemplation of my lords gr. & upon the singular confidence which he

hath collocate in his hiegh wysdom, conscience & devotion toward that see, graunt this commission decretal, to the perfect and consummate end & decision of the said cawse?

Wherefore, & in consideration of the premisses, his gr. willeth & desireth you, that sith his gr. intendeth never to make process by vertue therof, ne that it shal at any tyme be published, or shewed to any person in the world: wherby may arise any the lest slaunder, oblique dammage or prejudice to the see apostolique, or to the popes person, with that also his gr. intendeth nothing but by shewing therof to the k. h., to acquire such authoritie & favour of the same, as might turn to the singular avauncement, inestimable benefite, & perpetual wealth of that see. Of which thing his gr. willith also you make faith & promise *in animam suam*, under most sacred oth & obtestation unto his holynes: ye, by your accustomed dexterite & wysdom yet eftsones move the popes ho. to pass the said decretall; using for obteigning therof, al goodly & dulce wayes you can devyse, without concitating hym by any scharp words of discomfort. And in case after iij or iiij congresses ye see no likli-

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hode, but rather be in full despair, to relent & cesse your suit, without any farther molesting in that behaulf; & so retorne home with diligence, leaving that sute to be prosecuted by Mr. Gregorie, & other the kings agents & frends there.

These things by you thus proponed & set forth, & taking such effect as can be obtained there, his gr. farthermore desireth you, that forasmoch as the *juris consulti* here *nihil aliud fere habeant in ore*, but, the quene may recuse, the quene may appeal, ye wold therefore make a consultation with the best lerned men in that court, whether she may doo so, or no? And in case she do either of them, thanne of what effect, value or strength it is, & how moch it may let the process in the cawse? And whether that, notwithstanding, the legates may proccede? And fynally, what remedy is to be used in remission of the appeal,

& confirmation of the sentence *per superiorem iudicem*? And whether the appeal hanging, the parties may *redire ad nova vota* before confirmation, or any other like scruple & doubt, which you know, may aryse in this matier? And the sentence of the said lerned men, to bring home with you, subscribed & signed with their hands.

His gr. also, discussing, & right wel approving *rationes illas justificatorias commissionis expeditæ*, by you there devysed, and sent hither by me; which also you shal receyve agayn here enclosed, *nè forte illarum exemplar perihērit tibi*, desireth you to cause the same to be red & examined by the said lerned men; they to add & augment the same by reason & auctoritie; & so by them approved & subscribed as afore, to bring them in like maner with you. These my lords gr. requests & pleasures, although by his own letters directed unto you thei be more amply declared, & in far better termes touched; yet sith his commaundment was I shuld commit the same to writing, & by my rude letters advertise you therof, al Thursday following I attended the penning hereof, being for lack of cunnyng & experience in such kind of stile very paynful unto me.

The Friday following, Mr. Tuke then having perfected my said lords gr. expedition unto you, it pleased his gr. to cal me to here the reding therof; & so after long communication had, his gr. willed me to exhibite unto hym the minute of this my letter; which doon, his gr. commaunded me to go unto the k. h. to reoport the effect of the said expeditions, & also to bring unto him the copy of the popes lettres to be writen of his own hand; which his h. receaving & remitting me again to my lords gr. semed to desire nothing so moch as the said expedition to be wel set forth by you, & your retorning with al celeritie.

The Saturday following, my lord calling Mr. Bell & me eftsones to his presence, after moch consultation & deliberation had concerning the said expedition, commaunded me to desire you by my lettres



in his gr. name, over & besides the premisses, to make consultation there with Staphile & such other, as your wysdom shal think good, for their lerning & discretion, this matier to be communicated unto. First, in case the quenys grace omitting al such benefit & privilege, which she might pretend to have by the dispensation of Julius, & refusing to entre the disputation of the validite of the same, like as his gr. is perfectly enformed, by some of her counsail, that she wil do, & recurring only to this allegation, *quod non fuit cognita ab Arthuro*; whether than, & in case the said allegation shold prove true, the said bul be not *prorsus* invalidate, by reason there is no mention made in the same *de publica honestate*. For sith the bul dispensith only *cum affinitate cujusmodi*, yf her allegation shuld be true, *nulla intercessit inter contrahentes*, & being necessary the same to be dispensed with, argueth the matrimony to be illegitimate in his gr. opynion. Wherin his gr. wold gladly be resolved by your & other lerned mennys judgments there, to be by you enquired; & certificate therof to be made to his gr. as before.

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Moreover, wheras the words of the commission be such, “*ut primum pronuncietur & declaretur validitas aut invaliditas bullæ: deinde, ut decernatur matrimonium illegitimum, aut contra: postremò, ut feratur sententia divortij*: his gr. is in no lytil doubt, the lerned men here not wel dissolving the same, whether his gr. ought by ordre of the law not to vary *a præscripto commissionis*: & so to geve thre several sentence in these thre casys, or els *una sententia de nullitate matrimonij*: by which “*tacitè fertur sententia de invaliditate dispensationis, & altera de divortio*.” his gr. may wel satisfie his commission: & for so do yng no fawte or error may be arrected unto hym. In dissolving & explaining these doubts, although his gr. knowing your approved wysdom & lerning, willeth & intendith to adhere & follow your judgment & opinion so moch as any other mans elsewhere, according to his especial trust & confi-

dence in you; yet to thintent your sayings might have gretter authoritie & vehemencie with other men, & that somewhat peradventure might be added also by them to the confirmation therof; his gr. is moch desirous & hertely praieth ye wil adhibite some lerned men *in consilium* in the premisses, to here their phantasies & opinions in the same. So that ye may come home *plenissimè & perfectissimè instructus*, to discuss & make plaine all things, which in this matier shal have any visage of doubt or ambiguite.

And specially, above al things, forsomoch as his gr. intendeth in this cawse of so hiegh consequence, wherein dependeth the wealth or ruine of this realm, the conservation of his honour, or els immortal ignomynie & slaunder, the damnation of his soule, or els everlasting merit, to procede according to due ordre of justice, & to ground & firme his conscience upon so perfect & infallible rule of equite, that before God he may accompte himself discharged, ne to have doon any thing *reclamante conscientia*: & having, among other, in his gr. own opinion, oon specially just & stedfast base & fundation to ground right wysly his conscience therupon, viz. “*Quod rex ipse nescierit prorsus de impetratione bullæ*,” wherof he is ascertyned not only by the kingis relation, but also by my Lord of Winchestre: his gr. willith & desirith you, ye wil under most secret maner, “*Et tacitis nominibus, ne videatur, viz. dubitare de justitia causæ, quam toties deprædicavit*,” enquire of Anconitane, or els some other of like lerning, whether the said ground be so justifiable, & of such sort as his gr. might wel build his conscience upon, without grudge or scruple hereafter.

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Thinking here to have fynished these my letters; & the Sonday following going to Grenewich with my lords gr. who than fully purposed there, & that same day, to have depeched thens unto you with al such expeditions as his gr. here sendeth unto you by Mr. Barloo; after the same was redd & declared by my lords gr. unto the k. h. being therat present Maister

Tuke, Maister Wolman, Maister Bell, & I; there was by the said Maister Wolman oon other doubt & scruple found & objected, wherof the king & my lords gr. thought it very necessare to advertise you, to thintent you shal communicate the same with such practitioners & wel lerned men, as ye shal find there: & by the deliberate advyse & counsail of them, know the perfect resolution & verite therof. The doubt was thus, that forsomoch as by vertue of the said commission, containing both *officium nobile* & also *mercenarium*, the said legates may, “in cognitione super validitate & invaliditate cujuscunq; bullæ producendæ, aut exhibendæ,” use & procede *ex officio nobili*: & “In pronuntiando & declarando matrimonium nullum,” they must nedys use *mercenario*, & cannot geve sentence, *nisi ab altera parte petatur*. And moreover, wheras unto this part is added, “Prout animo conscientiaeq; vestrae juris ratio persuaserit,” it may wel be thought & doubted, whether by addition of this last clause, the other particles, viz. “Omni appellatione & recusatione remota, & also citra omnem personæ aut jurisdictionis gradum,” be restrained; & lose such vigor & strength, as the words importeth, & might be moch better defended to have, yf the said clause had not been added therunto. The cause of doubtance is this. For sith *Juris ratio* commaundeth & willeth that “Omnis recusatio & omnis item appellatio justa audienda sit & admittenda:” & they in proceeding *ad dissolutionem matrimonij* must nedys do as *juris ratio persuaserit*; it semeth plainly, that although in the first process, *ex officio nobili*, al recusation & appellation be taken away by the said clauses, yet in this second process & cognition, the said clauses be restrained & altered by thaddition of this article, *Juris ratio persuaserit*: & that by reason therof, the quenys grace may alwayes recuse & appell at her good pleasure & libertie, from whatsoever decree or sentence, either interlocutorie, or definitive, she wil: & so protract & deferre the decision of this matier; & fynally frustrate

the kingis expectation, to the utter & extreme peril of al those that have intromedled them in this cawse; unless by your wysdom, wherin is our grete hope & trust, ye can so mayntayne & sonduce these cawses, that both the justnes of the kingis cawse, & also al delayes or tracts of the tyme, which may be lawfully used by thadversarie in the process of this cause, be openly & playnly declared & made manifest to the k. h. by your sentence, confirmed with the opynyons & judgments of other lerned men there.

p. 84. Wherin you may boldly write & say according to your lerning, the kingis grace being of so perfit mynd & inclination to do nothing in this mater contrary to the accustomed nianer & just process of the law: being also fully persuaded that the quenys grace, having & using the benefit of appellacion, or other remedy, shal moch avaunce & conferr to the honour & surety of his cawse; which opinion & good conformitie to justice, like as it hath been by my lords gr. hiegh wysdom, by lytyl & litil instilled into the kingis brest; so his gr. ceaseth not dayly to increase the same by mervelous prudent handeling & dexteritie: insomoch that yesterday, to my great mervail, & no less joy & comforth, his gr. openly, in presence of Mr. Tuke, Mr. Wolman, Mr. Bell, & me, made protestation to the kingis h. " That although he was so much bound unto the same, as any subject might unto his prince; & by reason therof his gr. was at so perfit devotion, faith & loyalte towards his ma. that he could gladly spend goods, blode & lief in his just causes; yet sith his gr. was more obliged to God, & that he was sure he shuld rendre an accompt *de operibus suis* before hym; he wold in this matier rather suffer his hiegh indignation, yea & his body joyntly to be torn on peices, then he wold do any thing in this cawse otherwise than justice requireth; ne that his h. shuld loke after other favour to be ministred unto hym in this cawse, on his gr. partie, thanne the justnes of the cawse wold beare. But yf the bul were sufficient, he wold



so pronounce it, & rather suffre *extrema quæq;* than to do the contrary, or els *contra conscientiam suam.*"

*Postscripta.* You shal undrestond, that although the k. h. pleasure be at ful, & in most ample wyse, declared unto you by my lords gr. his instructions; yet his h. having perfit confidence, that his auctoritie is as it ought to be unto you, *sacrosancta*, & of more waight & moment than any others; to thintent, that you being more specially advertised of his requests & desires by his private letters, shold more specially regard, tendre, & study to accomplish the same, to thuttermost of your powers: this Monday his h. sending for me apart, commaunded me to write these letters as from his h. unto you, & to advertise you in the same of two things; which his h. considereth & thinkith above al other things to be set forth by you *cum effectu*. The one is the commission decretal to be obteigned according to my lords grace instructions now sent. When in using such reasons as is there expressed unto you, in case ye be in dispair of impetrating the same; ye then, Maister Stephens, shuld say unto the popes ho. that ye be right sory, & in mervellous perplexitie of mind, how the said denyal of so just & reasonable petition shal be taken, & may work in the kingis brest; & that you be in great fear, knowing the nature and condition of your prince & master; let that his h. interpreting the same, & al that hath been doon hitherto to have proceded either of vain fear, or of dissembled friendship, & covert deceit, to thintent his gr. shuld stil be undre their yoke & bondage; shuld hereafter alienate his mynd from such devotion & amite, as he berith now to the popes person. Specially sith his ho. did never hertofore do any thing in any his private causes, & now deny his first petition; which he may lawfully graunt: & shalbe assured, that it shal never turn to the prejudice or dammage of his holynes. Which words spoken by you, Maister Stephens, his h. wil is, that ye then cease of further

sute therin; & that ye & Mr. Gregory with al craft, wayes & means possible, attempt the obteyning the said decretal; like as his h. special trust is in you, & as ever you intend to do thing acceptable to his grace, persuading to your self this to be the thing; the attayning wherof shal so hieghly content his gr. *ut nihil supra dici aut excogitari possit.*

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## NUMBER XXVII.

*A NOTE of such records concerning the divorse of K. HENRY VIII. from Quene KATHÉRYN dowager; remeyning in the custodie of my Lord Theasorer & chamberleyns of thechequer. Found among the MSS. of the L. Treasurer Burghley.*

IMPRIMIS, Lra. CLEMENTIS papæ ad regem, nominando Cardinalem Campegium legatum suum. Dat 8° Julij, 1529.

Articulus additionalis concernens protestationem regiam.

Pollicitatio Campegij.

Testimonium notarij patavin. concern. determinationem Universitatis Padum. in matrimonio regis.

Appellatio regis a Romano Epo. ad futurum concilium generale.

Sententia Universitatis Bononen. super matrimonium regis.

Citatio reginæ coram Epo. Ebor. & Cardinal Campegio.

Duæ testificationes determinationis Patavien. super matrimonium regis.

Eboracen. cleri assertio super duabus quæstionibus.

Opinio duorum doctorum super, &c.

Assertio prælatorum Provinciæ Cantuar. super, &c.

Processus Thomæ Cardinal Ebor. in causa regis ante commissionem a Romano epo. constitutam.

Dispensatio pro matrimonio regis HENRICI VII.

& ELIZABETHÆ reginæ in quarto genere (gradu) consanguinitatus, &c.

Determinatio Universitatis Andegavensis super matrimonium regis.

Attestationes Dne. Bowrcher.

Articulus additionalis concern. transcriptum brevis.

Attestationes quorundam nobilium & aliorum, quæ faciunt ad causam regiam.

Transumptum Francisci Catuli Veneti.

Transumptum Jacobi a Lawsanna.

Sententia definitiva Epi. Cantuar. super, &c.

Copia determinationis decani facultatis theologiæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

Reasons to prove the General Councel to be above the Pope.

Causæ impugnantes matrimonium, &c.

Duodecim literæ testimoniales super scrutinio Registri Brevium.

Transumptum Doctorum & Advocatorum Parisiensium; quod Rex Angliæ non tenetur comparere Romæ.

An Exemplification of certen wrytings concerning the great affaires (affair).

Testificatio octo episcoporum Angliæ, quod regis conscientia in causa dougeriæ erat mota ex gravibus causis.

Determinatio Universitatis Aurelian. super, &c.

Concilium Doctorum Parisien. in decretis pro causa regis contra dispensationem.

Literæ regis ad Clementem Papam.

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The oath of Thomas Lee, Busshop of York, to the King.

Determinatio Theologorum Parisien. super, &c.

Liber impressus Raphaelis Comensis super, &c.

Transumptum Brevis CLEMENTIS.

Literæ GREGORIJ Casselin ad regem.

The copie of thinstrument that was graunted & sealed by the College of Divines of Ferrare.

A note of a brief of Pope JULIUS, making for our cause.

Transsumptum capitulorum inter divinos, &c. cum olim.

A conditional dispensation for the Kings Majesty, from the Busshop of Rome.

Sententia facultatis decretorum doctorum Parisien.

Decanus & facultas theologorum Parisien. in causa regina.

Revocatio CLEMENTIS Papæ censurarum contra regem promulgatarum.

Requisitio cleri convocationis Cant.

Sententia Aurelien.

Sententia Universitatis Bituricen. super, &c.

Revocatio Cardinalis Campegij ad Romam.

Duæ literæ Cardinalis Chrysogonij ad regem.

The copie of the kings letters to the Busshop of Rome.

Sententia Universitatis Theolosium, super, &c.

Requisitio cleri convocationis Ebor.

A Transsumpt of the determination of Orleance, that the king ought not to appear at Rome.

Rationes probantes regem non deberi excommunicari causa divortij.

Sententia Universitatis Patavin. super, &c.

The Sentence of thinvalidity of the matrimony between the kings highness & the Lady Katheryn dowgier, pronounced by my Lord of Canterbury.

A Request of the kings subjects, that the cause of the dowgier should be determined within the realm.

### *In Pixide.*

Duæ bullæ concernentes dispensationem matrimoniorum inter Arthurum & Katherinam, & Henricum fratrem ejus, & eandem Katherinam.

Item, Bulla facta Cardinali Ebor. ad cognoscendum in causa matrimoniali inter regem Henricum Octavum, & Katherinam reginam.

Item, A bundle of letters, cyphers & other books & copies, concerning the managing of the sayd kings great matter.



## NUMBER XXVIII.

p. 87.

*The names of al such parsonages as bene to be impropried unto Cardinal College, in the University of Oxford.*

## DIOCESS OF LINCOLN.

THE parsonages of Hedyngton, Marston, Sydley, Churchill, Fritwel & Elfeld.—*Oxon.*

Cleopatra,  
E. 4.  
p. 273.

Wornal, Orle, Bril & Borstall.—*Bucks.*

Preston magna, Preston parva, Welton, West-Haddon, Starton, Norton, Cold Asheby, Daventry, Thorpmonwel.—*Northam.*

Foxton & Scalford, Dunton Basset & Rakedale.—*Leicest.*

Bisbroke.—*Rutland.*

Rowenston, Chichelsy, Newport Paynel, Bradwel, Astwode & Willyn, Ellesbridg.—*Bucks.*

## DIOCESS OF COV. &amp; LITCHF.

Aston, Bromewich.—*Warwick.*

West Bromewich.—*Stafford.*

## DIOCESS OF SARUM.

Chadelworth & Kyngiston.—*Barksh.*

## DIOCESS OF LONDON.

Gynge Mounteney, Stanesgate & Steple, Typtree & Toleshunt, Horkisleigh, Wikes & Wormyngfeld, Alvethley, Reynham & Elmonden.—*Essex.*

Hormede.—*Hertford.*

Maribone.—*Middlesex.*

## DIOCESS OF NORWICH.

Chettesham & Swillond, Dodnesh & Falkenham, Snape, Freston & Bedinfeld, Denarston.—*Suffolk.*

## DIOCESS OF ROFFEN.

Newington & Marden, Tewdely, Brencheley, Leighe & Yalding, Pepynbury & Depford.—*Kent.*

## DIOCESS OF WINTON.

The moyety of the parsonage of Goddistone.—*Surrey.*

## DIOCESS OF CICHESTREN.

Begham, Haylesham & Hellynglye.—*Susser.*

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## NUMBER XXIX.

*Here follow the monasteries layd to the Cardinal Col-  
lege; together with the counties where each lay,  
their founders, & values spiritual & temporal: the  
spirituals in many places being neer the value of  
the temporalls.*

## Founded by the king.

|                      |                                                                                                   |           |     |    |        |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----|----|--------|
| Cleopatra,<br>E.. 4. | DAVENTRE, Northampt.                                                                              | - - -     | 236 | 7  | 6      |
|                      | Ravenston, Bucks                                                                                  | - - - - - | 66  | 13 | 4      |
|                      | Tykford, Bucks                                                                                    | - - - - - | 126 | 17 | 0      |
|                      | Frideswide, Oxford                                                                                | - - - - - | 284 | 8  | 9      |
|                      | Letlemore, Oxford                                                                                 | - - - - - | 33  | 6  | 8      |
|                      | Liesnes, Kent                                                                                     | - - - - - | 186 | 9  | 0      |
|                      | Tonbridg, Kent                                                                                    | - - - - - | 169 | 10 | 3      |
|                      | Wykes, Suffolk (Essex)                                                                            | - - - - - | 92  | 12 | 3 ob.  |
|                      | Snape, Suffolk                                                                                    | - - - - - | 99  | 1  | 11 ob. |
|                      | Sandewel, Bucks (Stafford) founded<br>by Ld. Dudley & Tho. Stanley,<br>of Stafford                | - - - - - | 38  | 8  | 7      |
|                      | Canwell, Leicestersh. founded by<br>Ld. Lizle; & by fine bath releas-<br>ed his title to the same | - - -     | 25  | 10 | 3      |
|                      | Poghley, Barks, founded by the Ab-<br>bess of Amesbury                                            | - - - - - | 71  | 11 | 7      |
|                      | Thobie, Essex, founded by John<br>Mounteney, Fitz Herbert & Jer-<br>myn                           | - - - - - | 76  | 6  | 10 ob. |
|                      | Blackamore, Essex, founded by the<br>Earl of Oxford                                               | - - - - - | 85  | 4  | 7      |
|                      | Stanegate, Essex, founded by the<br>Prior of Lewes                                                | - - - - - | 43  | 8  | 6      |

|                                                                                                |     |    |       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| Typtree, Essex, founded by Anthony Darcy - - - - -                                             | 22  | 16 | 4     |
| Horkisleigh, Essex, founded by Sir Roger Wentworth in right of his his wife - - - - -          | 27  | 7  | 11    |
| Dodneshe, Suffolk, founded by the Duke of Norfolk; & by fine hath released his title - - - - - | 42  | 18 | 9 ob. |
| Begham, Sussex, founded by Richard Sackvyle - - - - -                                          | 152 | 19 | 4 ob. |
| Calceto, Sussex, founded by the Earl of Arundel, & Bp. of Chichester - - - - -                 | 34  | 10 | 0     |

Summa totalis diversorum maneriorum & aliarum possessionum tum spiritual. tum temporalium prædict. - - - - -

That is, in spiritualls - - 570 5 6  
in tempralls - - 1342 14 9

## NUMBER XXX.

p. 89.

*Edmund Abbot of York, to Cardinal Wolsey, to spare the Priory of Romeburgh.*

PLEASYTH your grace to understand, that I, your poor orator, have lately received certain letters from our prior of Romeburgh, with other our brethren there being; by whose proposit I perceive that your graces pleasure is to suppress the said priory of Romeburgh; & also to unite, annex & improper the same unto the church of St. Peters, in Ipswich. And for the accomplishment of the same, as they write unto me, your officers came unto the said priory the 11th day of this present month, & there, after the reading of certain letters commissional, not only of your grace but also of our holy father the pope, & of our sovereign lord the king, for the same purpose directed, entred into the said priory: and that don, took

Cleopatra,  
E. 4. p. 47.

away as wel the goods moveable of the said priory, being a member of our monastery, & given unto us by Alien Niger, sometime Earl of Richmond, & our second co-founder. By whose gift, next unto the kings grace, we have had most benefits, lands & profits given us; (by reason wherof we be most notably charged with masses, suffrages, & other alms deeds, for his benefits to us most chargeably exhibit) but also certain muniments, evidences & specialties, touching & appertaining unto our monastery, which we had lately sent unto our said prior & brethren there, for the trial of certain lands & rights which lately did depend, between us & men of worship in Cambridgeshire, in controversy, & yet doth depend undecised; & for no other purpose.

In consideration wherfore, if it might please your grace, forasmuch as we have a great part of our lands granted unto us by reason of the said Alien Niger, wherby we be dayly charged, as doth appear by composition made between us & the said Alien Niger, & also confirmed by Boniface the IV. *anno sui pontific tertio*, under certain censures and pains, with clauses *derogatory*, as more largely by the said grant doth appear; that the said priory might consist & abide as a member of our monastery, as it hath don 300 years, & more, with your graces favour. Your grace shal not only put me & my brether to a great quietnes, but also take away many sundry doubts & great perils of the remedy of our lands granted unto us by the said earl: which be right notable, if the same suppression or alienation no further procede: & beside that, minister unto us a more notable act, than ye had given us ten times more lands than unto the said priory doth appertain and belong. But of truth the rents & revenues to the same priory belonging, doth very little surmount of thirty pounds sterling, as far as I perceive. And yet toward your spiritual, honorable & laudable purpose concerning the erection & foundation of the same college & school, I am right intyrelly contented, for your tendering of the



premisses, to give unto your grace CCC mark sterling, which shalbe delivered unto your grace immediately. Most humbly beseeching your grace to accept my poor mind towards your most noble act, which should be far better, if that my little power therunto would extend. p. 90. Protesting ever, that if your graces pleasure be to have the said priory to the purpose above recited, that then with my study, diligence & labour, shal continually endeavour my self for the accomplishment of the same, according as my duty is. Trusting ever that your grace wil se our poor monastery no further hindred, but that we may in time coming live like religious men, & serve Almighty God with our number determinate; & hereafter avoid, both in law & good conscience, al perils that therby may ensue; & also pray for our founder, benefactors & your good grace, accordingly to the foundation of our monastery, as our duty is. And so knoweth Jesus, who preserve your most noble grace in high honour & great prosperity long to continue. From our monastery of York, the xx day of September.

Your most bounden bedeman,

EDMOND, Abbot of York.

### NUMBER XXXI.

Cardinal Wolsey to Secretary Gardiner, to inform him of the kings consultation concerning him.

*To the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary.*

MYN owne goode mastyr secretary, albeit I am in such altiration and indyssposition of my hede & body, by the meansse of my dayly sorowe & hevynes, that I am fen ommit to writ any long lres.: yet my trustyng frend, Thomas Cromwel, retornyng & reparyng onto yow, I cowde nat forbere, but brively to put yow in remembrance: how that aftyr the consultation takyn by the kyngs hyghnes opon myn or

MISS.  
G. H. Eq.  
aur.

deryng, which ye supposyd shulde be on Sunday was sevynight, ye wolde nat fayle to advertyse me at the leynt of the specialties thereof. Of the wich to here & have knowleg, I have & dayly do loke for. I pray yow therfore at the reverens of God, & of thys holy tyme, & as ye love & tendyr my poore lyf, do so moche as to wrytt onto me your seyde lres.: wherby I may take some cumfort & rest: nat dowtting but your hert is so gentyl & pityfull, that havynge knowleg in what agony I am yn, ye wole take the payne to send onto me your seyde consollatory lres. Wherby ye shal nat onely deserve towards God, but also bynde me to be as I am, your contynual bedysman. Wrytten thys mornynge at Asher, with the rude hand & soroweful hert of yours with hert & prayer,

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup>. EBOR. miserrimus.

p. 91.

## NUMBER XXXII.

The Cardinal to the Secretary, to draw up his pardon, granted by the king.

*To the ryght honorable, & my syngular good frende,  
Mayster Secretary.*

MSS.  
G. II. Eq.  
aur.

My owne goode Mastyr Secretary, aftyr my moste herty recommendations, with lycke thanks for your goodnes towards me, thes shal be to advertyse yow, that I have beyn informyd by my trusty frend Thomas Cromwel, that ye have signified unto hym, to my syngular consolation, how that the kynges highnes, movyd with pety & compassyon, & of hys excellent goodnes, & cheryte, consyderynge the lamentable condition, & stat, that I stand yn, bath wyllyd yow, with other lords & mastyr of hys honorable counsell, to intende to the perfyghting & absolving, without further tract or delay, of myn end & appoyntement; & that my pardon shulde be made in the moste ample forme, that my counsell cowde devyse. For thys the kyngs moste gracyous remembrance, pro-

cedyng of hymself, I accompt my sylf not ondy moste bowndyn to serve & pray for the preservation of hys moste royal majeste, but also, thancke God, that ye have occasion geven unto you to be a sollyciter, & setter forth of such thynges, as do & shal conserve my seyde ende. In the making & compownyng wherof, myn assuryd truste is, that ye wole shewe the love & affection, wch ye have & bere towards me, your olde lover & frende: so declaryng your sylf therin, that the worlde may parceyve, that by your good meanys the kyng ys the bettyr goode lorde unto me: & that nowe newly in maner commyng to the world, ther may be such resspect had to my poore degre, olde age, & longe contynued servys, as shal be to the kyngs hygh honor, & your gret prayse & laude. Wch ondowtydly shal folowe, yf ye optinde yowr benyvolens towards me, & men perceyve that by yowr wisdom & dexterite I shalbe relevyd, & in thys my calamyte holpen. At the reverens therfore of God, myn owne goode Mr. Secretary, & refugy, nowe set to your hande, that I may come to a laudable ende and repose; seyng, that I may be furnyshyd after such a sorte & maner, as I may ende my short tyme & lyff to the honor of Crystes churche & the prince. And besydys my dayly prayer & true hert, I shal so requyte your kyndnes, as ye shal have cause to thyncke the same to be wel imployd, lycke as my seyde trusty frende shal more amply shewe unto you. To whom yt may please yow to geve firme credens & lovyng audyens. And I shal pray for the increase of your honor. Wryttn at Asher, with the tremylling hand & hevy hert of your assuryd lover & bedysman,

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup>. EBOR.

p. 92.

## NUMBER XXXIII.

The Cardinal to the Secretary; praying him to favour the cause of the Provost of Beverley, and to intercede with the king for him and his colleges.

*To my right entierly welbiloved friende Mr. Stephyn Gardener, secretary to the kyngs highnes.*

MSS.  
G. H. Eq.  
aur.

MYNE awne gentil Maister Secretary, after my mooste herty recommendations, these shal be to thanke you for the greate humanite, lovyng & gentil recule, that ye have made unto the poore Provost of Beverly: & specially, for that ye have in such wise addressed hym unto the kings highnes presence, that his grace not onely hath shewed unto hym, that he is his goode & gracious lorde, but also that it hath pleased hys majeste to admitte & accepte hym as his poore orator & scholer. Wherby both he & I accompte our selfs so bounden unto you, that we cannot telle how to requite this your gratitude & kyndenes; mooste hartely praying you to contynue in your good favour towards hym, & to take hym & his pore causis into your patrocynye & protection. And, as myne assured expectation & trust is, to remember the poor state & condition that I stond in, & to be a meane to the kings highness for my relefe in the same. In doying wherof ye shal not onely deserve thanks of God, but also declare to your perpetual laud & prayse, that ye beyng in auctorite, have not forgotten your olde maister and frynde. And in the wey of charite, & for the love that ye bere to vertue, & *ad bona studia*, be meane to the kyngs highnes for my poore colleges; and specially for the college of Oxford. Suffier not the things, which by your greate lernying, studie, counsaile & travaile, hath bene erected, founden, & with good statutes & ordinances, to the honour of God, increase of vertue & lernying establisshed, to be dissolved or dismembred. Ye do knowe, no man better, to what use the monasteries,



suppressed by the popis licence, the kyngs consente concurring with the same, & a pardon for the \* *pre-* \* *Præmu-*  
*moneri*, be converted. It is nat to be doubted, but *neri.*  
 the kyngs highnes, of his high vertue & equite, beyng informed how every thing is passed, his mooste gracious licence & consente (as is aforesaid) adhibited therunto, wol never go aboute to dissolve the said incorporations or bodies, wherof so greate benefite & commodite shal insue unto his realme & subjects. Superfluties, if any such shal be thought & founden, may be resecat; but to destroy the hole, it were to greate pitie.

Eftsones therefore, good Maister Secretarie, I besече you to be good maister & patrone to the said colleges: “Et non sinas opus manuum tuarum perire, aut ad nihilum redigi. Thus doying, both I, & they shal not onely pray for you, but in such wise deserve your paynes, as ye shal have cause to thinke the same to be wel bestowed & imployed, like as this present berer shal more at the large shewe unto you. To whom it may please the same to geve firme credence. And thus mooste hartely fare ye wel. From Sothewell,\* the xxijth day of July.

p. 93.

Your lovyng frende,

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup>. EBOR.

## NUMBER XXXIV.

The Cardinal to the Secretary; to bee his friend in a suite with Mr. Strangwish, for a debt of 700*l*.

*To the right honorable, & my syngular good frende, Mr. Doctor Stephyns, secretery to the kings highnes.*

MYNE awne good Maister Secretary, after my mooste harty recommendations, these shal be to de-

MSS.  
G. H. Eq.  
aur.

\* An antient seat in Nottinghamshire, belonging to the Archbishops of York.

sire, & moost effectually to pray you to be good maister & friende unto me, concernyng the uncharitable sute of Strangwishe for vij c li., which, he pretendith, that I shulde owe unto hym, for the ward of Bowes. And albeit there was at his firste comyng to my service, by our mutual consents, a perfecte end made betwene hym & me for the same, yet nowe digressyng therfrom, perceyvyng that I am out of favour, destitute of socour, & in calamite, he not onely newly demaundyth the said vij c li. but also hath made complaint unto the kyngs highnes, surmittyng, that I shulde, contrary to justice, deteyne from hym the said vij c li. For the redresse wherof, it hath pleased the kyngs majeste to direct his mooste honorable letters unto me; the contents wherof I am sure be nat unknown unto you. And insuing the purporte therof, & afore the delyvere of the same thre days by past, notwithstanding my greate necessity & poverté, onely to be out of his exclamation & inquietnes, I have written to my trusty friende, Mr. Cromwel, to make certeyn reasonable offres unto hym for that intent & purpose; moost hartely seseching you to helpe, that upon declaration of such things, as upon my part shal be signified unto you by the said Maister Cromwell, some such end, by your friendly dexterite, may bee made betwixt us, as shal accorde with good congruence, & as I may supporte & be hable (myne other debts & charges considered) to bere. In the doying wherof, ye shal bynde me to be your dayly bedesman, as knoweth God, who alwayes preserve you. From Sothewell, the xxvth day of August.

Yours with hert & prayer,

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup>. EBOR.

## NUMBER XXXV.

p. 94.

*Thomas Cardinalis Eboracen, &c. gypsuichianæ  
scholæ præceptoribus. S. D.*

NEMINEM latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, studio, industria, huc semper labores nostros destinaverimus, non ut nostris privatim commodis, sed uti patriæ civibûsq; nostris omnibus, quam plurimum consuleremus. Qua una in re, amplissimum pietatis fructum nos assecuturos esse arbitramur, si divino aliquo munere popularium nostrorum animos exornaremus. Proinde, maximo, incredibiliq; pietatis ardore erga patriam affecti, quæ nos veluti jure quodam sibi vendicat, ludum literarium non omnino inelegantem velut amoris summi erga eandem nostri, clarissimum testimonium dedicavimus. Verum quoniam parum visum est ludum quantumvis magnificentum extruxisse, nisi etiam accesserit præceptorum peritia, modis omnibus dedimus operam, ut nos duos præceptores electos probatósq; huic præficeremus: sub quibus Britannica pubes, statim a primis annis & mores & literas imbiberet; nimirum intelligentes in hac ætate, velut herba, spem reip. positam esse. Id quod felicius maturiûsq; consequeretur, libello puerilis instructionis methodumq; ac rationem docendi, apprimè huic publi necessariam, omni nostra cura, studio, diligentia, ut haberetis, curavimus. Vestræ partes erunt nunc vicissim, qui huic novæ scholæ nostræ præceptores estis, hic rudimentis ac docendi ratione diligentur exercere hos pueros; deinceps cum elegantissima literatura, tum optimis moribus ad majora profecturos. Ad quod si pari cura entinini, atq; uos ad oculum vobis commonstraturi sumus, nos non tam vobis vestro studio impense faventes jam demerebimini, quam plane apud posteros felices reddideritis. Bene valete. Ex ædibus nostris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, calend. Septembris.

*Quo ordine pueri, in nostrum gymnasium admissi, docendi sint; quiq; authores ijsdem prælegendi.*

PRIMÆ CLASSIS METHODUS.

Principio, scholam hanc nostram in classes octo partiendam esse non incongruè placuit. Quarum prima pueros rudiores in octo orationis partibus diligenter exercendos contineat. Quorum os tenerum formare præcipua cura vobis sit: ut pote qui & apertissima & elegantissima vocis pronuntiatione, tradita elementa proferant siquidem rudem materiam licet ad quodvis effingere; & Horatio monente, *Quod semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*. Quamobrem hanc ætatem justa vestra cura defraudare minime par est.

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SECUNDÆ CLASSIS.

Deindè, postquam ætas hæc satis feliciter illis primis rudimentis adulta profecerit, eam in secundum ordinem vocari velimus, ad usum loquendi Latinè, & ad vertendum in Latinum aliquod propositum vulgare, non insulsum neq; ineptum; sed quod argutam aliquam aut venustam habeat sententiam, quæ ab ingenio puerili non nimium abhorreat. Quod simul ac versum fuerit, quam mox characteribus Romanis mandari oportebit: dabitisq; operam quotidie, ut libellos quam emendatissimos, quàmq; elegantissimè sua quisq; manu scriptos habeat universus grex.

Si authorem aliquem præter rudimenta, adhibendum tenellæ pubi censueritis, id erit vel Lillij carmen monitorium; vel præcepta Catonis; nimirum formandi oris gratia.

TERTIÆ CLASSIS.

Ex authoribus, qui ad quotidianum sermonem purum, tersum, elimatum magnoperè conducunt, quis facietior, quem Æsopus? aut quam Ter. utilior. Uterq; vel ipso argumenti genere adolescentiæ non injucundus.

Rursum, huic ordini de nominum generibus libel-



lum quem Lillius conscripserat, si adjunxeritis, non improbaverimus.

## QUARTÆ CLASSIS.

Præterea, cum quartæ classis militiam exercebitis, quem ducem malitis, quam ipsum Vergilium, omnium poetarum principem, vobis dari? Cujus majestatem carminis, voce bene sonora, efferendam esse operæ pretium fuerit.

Verborum præterita & supina huic ordini convenientia commodabit Lillius. Verum ut hujusmodi fateor necessaria, ita velimus tamen tradi, quoad fieri possit, ut potiozem diei partem non occupent.

## QUINTÆ CLASSIS.

Nunc demum video vos cupere, quam docendi rationem hic præcipiamus. Agite, mos geratur vobis. In primis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neq; plagis severioribus, neq; veltuosis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis specie, tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuria ingenij alacritas aut extingui, aut magna ex parte obtundi solet.

Huic ordini, quod doceatur, præcipuum erit, ut aliquot selectas Ciceronis epistolas prælegatis: quibus sane nullæ aliæ videntur nobis ad divitem sermonis copiam parandam, neq; faciliores, neq; uberiores.

## SEXTÆ CLASSIS.

p. 96.

Porro, sextus ordo historiam aliquam, vel Salustij, aut commentariorum Cæsaris, postulare videtur. Quibus syntaxim Lillij non incongruè addiderimus, verba defectiva, anomala, & quæcunq; heteroclyta, obiter legentes, admonebitis.

## SEPTIMÆ CLASSIS.

Septimi ordinis grex, aut Horatij Epistolas, aut Ovidij Metamorphosin, aut Fastorum libros assiduè volvat; interim vel carmen, vel epistolam aliquam componens. Illud quoq; perinagni referet, si aliquoties aut carmen solverint, aut solutam orationem

pedibus alligatam reddiderint. Audita nè effluant, aut apud vos, aut cum alijs puer retractet. Sub somnum exquisiti quippiam, aut dignum memoria meditetur, quod proxima aurora præceptorì reddat.

Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus, at liberalis tamen, & literis dignus. In ipsis studijs sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi, quam laborem existimat. Cavendum erit, ne immodica contentione ingenia discentium obruantur, aut lectione prælonga defatigentur. Utrâq; enim juxta offenditur.

#### OCTAVÆ CLASSIS.

Deniq; hoc exercitio ad aliquam sermonis peritiam provectus grex, ad majora grammatices præcepta revocetur; velut ad figuras a Donato præscriptas, ad Vallæ elegantiam, & ad linguæ Latinæ quoslibet veteres authores. In quibus prælegendis vos admonitos velimus, ut ea duntaxat quæ explicanda præsentì loco sint idonea, conemini discere. Veluti Comœdiam Terentianam enarraturi, imprimis authoris fortunam, ingenium, sermonis elegantiam, paucis disseratis. Deinde, quantum habeat & voluptatis & utilitatis comœdiarum lectio. Deinde, quid significet ea vox, & unde ducta, Deinde, dilucidè & breviter summam argumenti explicetis, carminis genus diligenter indicetis. Postea, ordinetis simplicius: deinde, siqua insignis elegantia, siquid priscè dictum, siquid novatum, siquid Græcanicum, siquid obscurius, siqua etymologia, siqua derivatio & compositio, siquis ordo durior, & perturbatior, siqua orthographia, siqua figura, siquid egregium orationis decus, siqua exornatio rhetorica, siquid proverbium, siquid imitandum, siquid non imitandum, diligenter gregem admoneatis.

Præterea, in ludo dabitis operam, ut grex quam emendatissimè loquatur, loquentem aliquoties collaudetis, siquid dictum erit aptius, aut emendetis, cum errabit. Interdum epistolæ brevis argumentum, sed argutum, lingua vulgari proponi debet. Postremò,

silibet, ostendatis formulas aliquot, quibus traditum thema commodè tractari poterit.

His rudimentis pueri in schola nostra imbuti, facile declarabunt quantopere referat, ab optimis auspicatum fuisse. Vos modo pergite, ac patriam benè merentem honestissimis studiis illustrate.

## NUMBER XXXVI.

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*Queen Elizabeth to Sir Ambrose Cave; to enquire into an estate taken away from one Heydon by Cardinal Wolsey. The letter dated June 22, 1568.*

ELIZABETH R.

Righte trustie & welbeloved, we grete you wel. And wheras we are credible enfourmed, that one William Heydon, late of Britwel, in our countie of Hertford, deceased, was in his life tyme seised in his demeane, as of fee, according to the custome of the mannor of the More, being percel of our duchie of Lancaster, in our saied countie, of & in one messuage, with thappurtenances, called Tolpotts, & of & in one hundred, threscore & ten arcres of land, by estimation, to the same messuage belonging, lieing & being in the parishes of Watford & Rickemansworth, in the countie said of Hertf. And that he so being seised thereof, Thomas Wolsey, late Archebishop of York, et cardinal there, being lord of the said mannor of the More, did wrongfullie expel & put out the said William Heydon of & from the said mesuage, lands, & tenements, & every part therof. And that Cxxix acres, percel therof, the said late cardinal did cause to be inclosed & impaled within the great park of the said mannor. And that a certain plot of ground, conteyning by estimation three acres, percel of the said lands & tenements, was by the said late cardinal converted into a high way, leading from Rickmansworth to Watford aforesaid, in the said countie; & so

MSS.  
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Eq.

is used at this present. And that the said mesuage, & eight acres of land, percel also of the premisses, lying without the pale of the said park, are in our hands, or are occupied by such person as payeth us rent for the same.

And wheras also we are further credible enfourmed, that the said William Heydon, after he was expelled & put out of the said mesuage & premisses, as is aforesaid, did surrender the same mesuage, & al the aforesaid lands, with thappurtenances, into the hands of the lord of the said mannor, to the use of Thomas Heydon, his younger son, & of his heires & assignes for ever, according to the custome of the said mannor: and that Johane, wif of George Pope, & Margaret, wif of John More, are daughters & heires of the said Thomas Heydon: and that also neither the said William Heydon, nor Thomas Heydon, nor the heires or assignes of eyther of them, have had any manner of recompence in & for the premisses, as we are also credible enfourmed.

WEE therefore mynding, if the premisses so enfourmed us (as is aforesaid) be true, that recompence shal be made to the heires of the said Thomas Heydon, as reason is. And the rather by & at the humble & continual sute, complaint, & lamentable petition of the said John More & Margaret his wif, & of George Pope & Johane his wif, daughters & heires of the said Thomas Heydon, to whom a surrender of the premisses, as is aforesaid, was by the said William Heydon made; Do hereby wil, auctourise, & require you, our said chauncellor of our said duchie, together with the advise of our counsel of the same our duchie, with al convenient speed, thoroughlie to enquire, examine, & circumspectlie trie out, whether the premisses & allegations so infourmed us, as is aforesaid, be true or not. And if therupon you shal perceyve & understand, that the same are true, & that the said John More & Margaret his wif, George Pope & Johane his wif, ought of right to have & enjoy the premisses; Then we further wil, require, & by these



presents do aucthorise you furthewith, with convenient speed, to make unto them the saied John More & Margaret his wif, & George Pope & Johane his wif, restitution of the said lands & premisses, or such other reasonable recompence for the same, as you, upon due & deliberate consideration of the premisses, & the circumstances of the same, shal think most mete & convenient. And therupon to make unto them sufficient assurance of the same recompence, to pass under the seale of our said duchie accordingle; or by any other sufficient means, as you shal think mete. And theis our letters, signed with our hand, shal be unto you & every of you, a sufficient warrant & discharge against us, our heirs, & successors, at al times hereafter, concerning the premisses, in every behaulf.

To our righte trustie & welbeloved Sir Ambrose Cave, Kt. one of our privy counsel, & chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, & to our counsel of the same duchie.

## NUMBER XXXVII.

*The bedes on the Sunday, as antiently used.*

YE shal knele downe on your knees, & lyfte up your hertes, makyng your prayers unto Almyghty God: for the good estate & peace of all holy chyrche, that God mayntayne, save, & kepe it. For our holy father the pope, with al his true college of cardynalls: that God for his mercy them mayntayne & kepe in the right byleve, & it holde & encrease, & al mysbyleve & heresye he lesse & destroye. Also, ye shal praye for the holy lande, & for the holy crosse that Jesu Chryst dyed upon, for the redempcyon of mannes soule; that it may comme into the power of chrysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers. Also, ye shal praye for al archbysshops & bysshops, & in especial for the Archbysshop of Caunterbury, our metropolytane: and for the Bysshop of

Out of the  
Festival.

p. 99.

N. our diocesan: that God of his mercy gyve to them grace, so to governe & rule holy chyrche, that it may be unto the honour & worshyp of hym, & salvacyon of our soules. Also, ye shal pray for all abbottes, pryours, monkes, chanons, fryers, & for al men & women of relygyon, in what ordre, estate, or degree, that they stand in, from the hyghest estate unto the lowest degree. Also ye shal pray for al them that have charge & cure of chrysten mennes soules, as curates & parsones, vycares, preests & clerkes. And in especyal, for the parson & curate of this chyrche; & for al the preests & mynystres, that serve therin, or have served therin. And for al them that have taken ony ordre. That Almyghty God gyve them grace of contynuaunce wel for to kepe & observe it, to the honour & helth of theyr soules. Also, ye shal praye for the unyte & peace of al chrysten realmes, & in especyal, for the good state, peace, & tranquyllitie of this realme of Englande, for our lyege lord the kynge. That God for his great mercy send hym grace so to governe & to rule this realme, that God be pleased & worshypped, & to the profyte & salvacyon of this lande. Also, ye shal pray for our lyege lady the quene, my lord the prynce, & al the noble progeny of them. For al dukes, erles, barons, knyghtes, & squyers, & other lords of the kynges counseyle, which have ony rule & governaunce of this land. That God gyve them grace so to counseyle, rule, & governe, that God be pleased, the land defended, & to the profyte & salvacyon of al the realme. Also, ye shal praye for the peace, both on lande & on water, that God graunte love & charyte among al chrysten people. Also, ye shal pray for al our parysshens, where that they be on land or on water; that God save them from al maner of perylles: & for al the good men of this parysshe; for theyr wyves, chyl dren, & meyny, that God them mayntayne saufe & kepe. Also, ye shal pray for al true tythers, that God multiply theyr goods & encrease. For al true tyllers, that labour for our suste-

naunce, that tyll the erth. Also, ye shal pray for al the graynes and fruytes, that ben sown, set, or done on the erthe, or shal be done, that God sende such wederynge, that they may grow, encrease, & multiply, to the help & profyte of al mankynd. Also, ye shal pray for al true shypmen & merchaunts, whersoever that they be, on land or on water, that God kepe them from al perylles, & bryng them home in saufte with theyr goods, shyppes, & merchaundyses, to the helpe, comforte, & profyte of this realme. Also, ye shal praye for them that fynde ony light in this chyrehe, or gyve ony behestes, book, bel, chalyee, or vestement, surplys, awter cloth, or towayle, lands, rentes, lamp or lyght, or ony other aournementes, wherby Goddes servyce is the better served, susteyned, & mayntayned, in redyng & syngyng. And for al them that therto have counseyled: that God reward & yelde it them at theyr moost nede. Also, ye shal pray for al true pylgryms & palmers, that have taken theyr way to Rome, to Iherusalem, to Saynt Katharynes, or Saynt James, or to ony other place: that God of his grace gyve them tyme & space wel for to goe & to come, to the profyte of they lyves & soules. Also, ye shal also pray for al them, that ben syek or descased, of this parysshe, that God send them healthe, the rather for our prayer. For al the women which be in our ladyes bandes, & with chyld in this parysshe, or in ony other, that God sende them fayre delyveraunce, to theyr chyldrens right shape, name, & chrystendome, & to the mothers purification. And for al them that wolde be here, & may not for sicknes, or travayle, or ony other leeful occupacyon; that they may have part of al the good dedes that shal be done here in this place, or in ony other place. Also, ye shal pray for al them that be in good lyfe, that God holde them long tharin. And for al them that be in dette, or deedly synne; that God bryng them out therof, the rather for our prayers. Also, ye shal pray for hym or her, that this day gave the holy breed, & for hym that first began & longest holdeth on;

p. 100.

that God reward hym it at the day of dome. And for al them that do wel, or say you good, that God yelde it them at theyr nede; & for them that otherwyse wolde, that God amende them.

For al these, & for al chrysten men & women, ye shal say a Pater-noster & an Ave Maria. "Deus misereatur nostri. Gloria patri. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster & Nè nos. Sed libera. Versus. Ostende nobis. Sacerdotes. Domine saluum fac regem. Saluum fac populum. Domine fiat pax. Domine exaudi. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Ecclesie tue quesumus. Deus in cujus manu. Deus, qui sanctorum," &c.

Ferthermore, ye shal pray for al chrysten soules: for archbysshops & bysshops soules; & in specyal, for al that have ben bysshops of this diocese; & for al curates, parsones & vicares soules; & in specyal, for them that have ben curates of this chyrche, & for the soules that have served in this chyrche. Also, ye shal pray for the soules of al chrysten kynges & quenes, & in especyal, for the soules of them that have ben kynges of this realme of England. Also, for al those soules, that to this chyrche have gyven boke, bel, chalyce, or vestement, or any other thyng, by the which the servyce of God is the better done, & holy chyrch worshypped. Ye shal also praye for your fathers soule, for your mothers soule, for your godfathers soule, & for your godmothers soule, for your brethrene & systers soules, & for the soules of al your kynnes folk, & for your frends soules, & for al the soules that we be bound to pray for. And for al the soules that be in the paines of purgatory, there abydyngc the mercy of Almyghty God. And in especyal, for them that have moost nede & leest help: that God of his endles mercy less & mynysshe theyr paynes by the meane of our prayers, & bryng them to his everlastyng blysse of heven. And also of the soule of N. or of them that upon such a day this weke we shal have the annyversary, & for al chrys-



ten soules ye shal devoutly say a Pater noster, & an Ave Maria, Psalmus, de profundis, with the collecte. Oratio.

“Absolve quesumus, domine, animas famulorum tuorum, pontificum, regum, sacerdotum, parentum, parrochianorum, amicorum, benefactorum nostrorum, & omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum. Ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos & electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.”

## NUMBER XXXVIII.

p. 101.

A book against the kings matrimony with Queen Katherine.

*An liceat cuiquam ducere uxorem fratris sui vita defuncti absq; liberis.*

VIDETUR omnino quod nullo pacto sit licitum. MSS.  
D. G. H.  
Eq. Nam scribitur in Levitico, capite decimo octavo, unum præceptum generale istud, scil. “Omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedet, ut revelet turpitudinem ejus.” Et mox subjungit præcepta quædam specialia. Ubi inter cætera vetat, ne quispiam uxorem fratris sui accipiat. Et illico subinfert Deus; “turpitudinem uxoris fratris tui non revelabis, quia turpitudine fratris tui est.” Ponitur etiam in eodem capite, “Nec accedes ad uxorem ejus, qui tibi affinitate conjungitur.” Et Levitici vicesimo capite dicitur apertè, “Qui duxerit uxorem fratris sui, rem facit illicitam: turpitudinem fratris sui revelavit: absq; filijs erit.”

Modò, ex his autoritatibus ita deducam augmentationes. Et primo, hoc medio; quod est jure divino prohibitum, nulli est licitum. Sed ducere uxorem fratris prohibitum est jure divino. Consequitur ergo, nemini licere uxorem fratris ducere. I,

Evidet hæc consecutio cum majore: & minor li-

quet ex autoritatibus Levitici prælibatis. Sed dicet fortasse quispiam. Præceptum istud modò vigorem non habere in lege evangelica, sed duntaxat pro lege Mosaica dabatur, sed hæc Responsio facile diluetur tali ratione. Præcepta moralia quæ sunt de lege naturæ, inde remanent in lege evangelica secundum omnes theologos: sed quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui est morale, quod est de jure naturæ: ergo in lege evangelica adhuc remanet. Minor patebit ex summa Altissiodorensis in 4<sup>to</sup>. sententiarum, titulo de affinitate; et beati Bonaventuræ in 4<sup>to</sup>. dist. quadragesima. q. 2<sup>a</sup>. Et idem doctor expressè in 4<sup>to</sup>. dist. 32<sup>a</sup>. articulo 3<sup>o</sup>. q. prima, asserit, hoc præceptum esse morale; nempe, quod mulier non cognoscatur tempore menstruæ. Et hoc idem præceptum continetur inter has prohibitiones. Ergo, & cæteræ prohibitiones Leviticæ, in ipso capite contentæ, videntur etiam esse morales. Quod si hos doctores funditus recusaverunt, adhuc idem probabo ex sacris literis, videlicet, quod hoc est de jure naturæ, quod homo non accedat ad uxorem fratris sui. Nam in eodem capite 18<sup>o</sup>. Levitic. dicitur, “Nec polluamini in omnibus his, quibus contaminate sunt universæ gentes, quas ego ejiciam ante conspectum vestrum.” Et Paulo post subjungitur, “Omnes etiam execrationes istas fecerunt accollæ, qui fuerunt ante vos, & polluerunt eam. Cavete ergo, ne & vos similiter evomat, quum paria feceritis, sicut evomit gentem, quæ fuit ante vos. Omnis anima, quæ fecerit de abominationibus his quippiam, peribit de medio populi sui.”

Tunc sic formabo rationem. Si gentes fecerunt has abominationes, & execrationes, & ita punitæ fuere; ergo graviter peccarunt. Quia nunquam infligitur gravis pœna, nisi ob peccatum prius commissum. Quum ergo propter has abominationes punitæ fuerunt gentes; Ergo eas transgrediendo gravissimè peccabant. Si gentes non peccabant nisi contra legem naturæ (quia legi Mosaicæ non erant subiectæ, ut asserit Paulus ad Romanos, 2<sup>o</sup>.) ergo hæ

prohibitiones sunt de lege naturæ. Quod erat probandum. Sed supra jus naturæ non potest papa dispensare, ut vult Scotus in 4<sup>to</sup>. Ergo quum hæ prohibitiones sunt de jure naturæ, papa inconsultè egit dispensando cum tali matrimonio.

Præterea, ubicunq; est eadem causa, ibi erit idem effectus. Sed non ob aliud vetatur commixtio cum sorore patris aut matris, quam quia sunt una caro. Ut patet Levitici xvij<sup>o</sup>. Ergo cum frater & ejus uxor sunt una caro, non potest frater uxorem fratris defuncti ducere. Et consimilem rationem videtur ponere beatus Bonaventura ad oppos. q. in 4<sup>to</sup>. Sentent. dist. 40<sup>a</sup>. q. 2<sup>da</sup>. Ubi quærit, an consanguinitas matrimonio præstat impedimentum. Et minor etiam claret ex autoritate Pauli priori ad Corinthios 7<sup>o</sup>. “ Qui adhæret meretrici unum corpus efficitur cum ea.” II.

Præterea, ubicunq; est materia ambigua & dubia, semper tutior pars est servanda & eligenda. Sed hæc materia est gravis, & dubia: videlicet, quod serenissima regia majestas non debet dirimi a regina; & quod Papa Julius licitè dispensavit. Nam aliqui doctores, & aliquæ universitates famatæ asseruerunt oppositum: scil. quod debet serenissima sua majestas ab ipsa separari, & hoc sub pœna peccati mortalis. Ergo licitè potest hanc partem, tanquam tutiorem, eligere. Alioqui exponeret se periculo peccati mortalis, peccat mortaliter secundum omnes theologos; & apparet ex sacra scriptura. Nam qui amat periculum, peribit in illo. III.

Item, Supponamus quod Papa Julius potuerit dispensare, ut regia majestas duceret uxorem relictam fratris sui, & quod fuerit verum matrimonium inter ipsum & illam; adhuc probabo tale matrimonium justè posse dissolvi: et hoc a Deo licet, non ab homine. Quia *quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*, juxta sententiam evangelicam. Papa verò solum declarabit, quod Deus illud dissolverit. Et tali argumentabor ratione. Matrimonium inter aliquas personas dissolvitur a Deo propter majus bo- IV.

num. Sed tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter tuitionem Regni Angliæ Deus dissolvit matrimonium inter regem & reginam. Evidet hæc sequela: & probabitur major. Nam matrimonio contracto, & non consummato inter Joannem & Magdalenam, licitum est Joanni ingredi religionem propter continentiam servandam: quæ secundum theologos est majus bonum, quam matrimonium. Et illud matrimonium dissolvit Deus, & non homo, ut dictum est prius. *Quia quod Deus conjunxit, nemo separet.* Probabitur etiam illa minor, videlicet, quod tuitio unius regni sit majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium: et tali pacto. Quicquid est majus majori est majus minori. Sed tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam continentia istius aut illius personæ; quæ tamen continentia est majus bonum, quam matrimonium, ut jam probavimus, & patet ex Paulo, prioris ad Cor. septimo. Ergo tuitio unius regni est majus bonum, quam hoc aut illud matrimonium. Ergo propter tuitionem regni Angliæ dissolvit Deus matrimonium istud. Quod etiam tuitio unius regni sit majus bonum quam continentia istius aut illius personæ, patet; non solum quia bonum commune est præferendum bono particulari, verum etiam, quia

p. 103. papa dispensavit cum quodam monacho, ut exiret religione, & esset Rex Arragoniæ. Item, diebus nostris Alexander Sextus (ut a fide dignis accepi) pro bono publico regni Gallorū, declaravit, quod rex Lodovicus XII. poterat separari ab uxore sua, & ducere in uxorem Annam ducissam minoris Britannia. Cor. igitur idem non licebit fieri modò cum serenissimo nostro rege propter bonum publicum regni Angliæ? Quod enim sequatur bonum publicum Angliæ ex isto divertio ostenditur: quia regina nostra, teste experientia, non parit plures filios. Ex novo autem matrimonio facile poterit rex sobolem procreare masculinam, heredem. Et ita sedabuntur tumultus innumeri. Nam si (quod absit) decesserit serenissima regia majestas sine filiis, haud dubie in



Anglia tantum ignis (prout conjicio) erit accensus, ut eum oceani aqua vix extinguere posset; tanta erit lis in populo.

Huic etiam positioni occurrit illud quod Gregorius Augustino Anglorum apostolo: (a quo requisitus fuerat, quota generatione debeant copulari) rescribit sic, "Quædam lex Romana permittit, ut sive fratris & sororis, sive duorum fratrum germanorum, seu duarum sororum filius & filia misceantur. Sed experimento didicimus ex tali conjugio sobolem non posse succrescere. Unde necesse est, ut quarta aut quinta generatio fidelium licenter conjugatur." Sed post multum temporis idem Gregorius a Felice Messinæ scil. præsule requisitus, utrum Augustino scripserit, ut Anglorum quarta generatione contracta matrimonia non solventur, inter cætera talem reddidit rationem: "Quod scripsi Augustino Anglorum episcopo, ipsi etiam Anglorum genti, quæ nuper ad fidem venerat, ne a bono quo cæperat, metuendo austeriora, recederet, specialiter & non generaliter, me cognoscas scripsisse. Nec ideo hæc eis scripsi, ut postquam in fide fuerint solidati, si infra propriam consanguinitatem inventi fuerint, non separentur, aut inter affinitatis lineam id est usq; ad septimam generationem, jungantur. Nec valet dicere evadendo, quod lex Deuteronomica, capite - - - -, de suscitatione seminis fratris evacuavit hanc legem Leviticam." Quod ostendam tali pacto. Lex temporaliter data, & ad determinatum populum, non potest restringere legem universalem & moralem, datam universæ nationi; sed lex Deuteronomica erat solum temporalis, & ad certum populum limitata. Levitica vero lex moralis est & universalis, ut prius ostensum est: quia lex naturæ extendit se ad omnes. Ergo per consequens, lex Deuteronomica non habet vigorem restringendi legem Leviticam. Quare consequitur has prohibitiones Leviticæ adhuc consistere in pleno robore.

Major hujus rationis clarebit per simile. Nam Exodi xx. datur præceptum universale. Non occides.

Et primo Regum xv. præcepit Deus Sauli, ut interficeret Amalech. Nunc iste casus specialis & particularis non potest restringere primum præceptum morale de non occidendo, ut manifestum est. Ergo per simile nec lex Deuteronomica evacuabit legem Leviticam, quæ est moralis, & omni populo communis.

- v. Item, genus prohibitum cum distributione includit omnes species sub eo contentas, esse prohibitas. Sed hoc genus, scil. omnis homo ad proximam sanguinis sui non accedat, est prohibitum cuilibet homini. Ergo etiam omnes ejus speciei cuilibet homini prohibentur. Sed sub hoc genere continentur duodecim species in Levetico, ca. 18°. Ergo quælibet earum prohibetur cuilibet homini.

p. 104.  
VI.

Item, divinus Augustinus contra Faustum, libro duodecimo, capite 81°. de Juda & Thamar sic loquitur, “ Si vir & uxor, sicut dicit Dominus, non jam duo, sed una caro sunt, non aliter nurus deputanda est, quam filia.” Nunc ex his dictis ita argumentor, de similibus simile est judicium. Sed nurus ex hoc quod solum cognita est a filio cedit in jus filiæ. Ergo & uxor fratris cognita a fratre cedit in jus sororis.

VII.

Item, Dominus Antoninus in 3<sup>a</sup> parte summæ, capitulo undecimo, de affinitate, ubi loquitur de dispensatione papæ prohibita, dicit, quod in “ linea transversali, in primo gradu prohibetur matrimonium consanguinitatis & affinitatis jure divino. Unde (inquit) nec papa dispensare potest, quia est contra naturam, ut scil. quis contrahat cum germana sua, aut uxore germani sui, eo mortuo. Unde etiam ante legem Mosaicam, multiplicato genere humano, ante diluvium aut post, creditur se abstinuisse a sororibus, & ab uxoribus fratrum, nisi ad suscitandum semen fratris præmortui, sicut & tempore legis, ut patet in Thamar & filijs inde.” Et Paulo post subjungit Anthoninus, “ Nec etiam posset dispensare papa in uxore fratris mortui sine liberis. Quia licet olim liceret, dispensativè licebat. Quæ dispensatio fiebat

jure divino, non ab homine. Nam jure divino communiter abstinebatur ab uxore fratris, sicut a propria sorore: sed in casu illo permittebatur. Unde sicut papa non potest dispensare in pluralitate uxorum, quamvis olim esset licita (quia licita erat ex Dei dispensatione) prohibita jure communi, sic nec in proposita. Hæc Anthoninus.

Sunt etiam nonnulli authores asseverantes matrimonium inter affines esse prohibitum jure divino & naturæ: ut Jo. de turre cremata, & Petrus de Paludo, & alij Thomistæ.

Hæc scripta & collecta fuere a<sup>o</sup> regni regis  
Hen. VIII. 21<sup>o</sup> 18<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, per J.  
p<sup>i</sup> M.

## NUMBER XXXIX.

*A confutation of Abels book, wrot against the divorce of Q. Katherine.*

Contra basim libelli Abelis.

HÆC unica est basis ac fundamentum singulare, cui totus innititur Abelis libellus. Quod Deus nunquam id quod malum est, & contra jus naturæ præcipit observandum, & hoc perpetuo & a communitate. Ex hoc fundamento colligit, non esse contra jus naturæ ducere relictam fratris, quum Deus illud antiquitus præcepisset. MSS.  
D.G.H.Eq.

Et si aliàs pluribus machinis, eisq; satis validis, hanc munitionem expugnavimus; non gravabimur tamen jam denuo novas vires adjicere: ut quantumvis inverecondus ac vafer sit hostis, multitudine saltem testium attonitus cristas cogatur dimittere.

Primum quidem pro enervatione hujus fundamenti dicimus, hoc Deuteronomicum præceptum nec universale fuisse, nec perpetuum. Universale non erat, quum nullam gentem præter Judaicam obligabat. Sed neq; perpetuum erat: quum coruscante evangelio sit abolitum. Proinde invalidum prorsus ac p. 105.

debile fundamentum est, ad sustinendum Abelis structuram.

Deinde, ad perpetuam hujus basis demolitionem, præmittam conclusionem unicam, præsidij undiq; tutissimis munitam :

Quod Deus præcipit illud nonnunquam, quod, antequam præcipiebatur, erat contra jus naturæ.

Istam conclusionem firmabo primo authoritate divi martyris Cypriani; qui in epistola 62<sup>a</sup> ita scribit: “ Aliud est quod Deus imperat facere, & aliud voluntati ejus obsistere: cujus ita sunt mandata servanda, ut si aliquid jusserit, quod secundum homines injustum esse videatur, justum credatur, & fiat. Et si justum jusserit, justum deputetur, & fiat. Cum sine victoria non potest esse, quod mandat; qui potens est injustitiam justificando, vocare justitiam: & justitiam reprobando, injustitiam probare transversam. Cujus voluntas est vera & sola justitia.” Hæc Cyprianus. Ex quo liquido apparet, Deum posse ob aliquam causam justificare præceptum Deuteronomicum de suscitando semine fratri, etiam si, ante illud præceptum, esset contra jus naturæ.

Ca. 30:

Huic subscribit divus Augustinus in libro 26<sup>o</sup> contra Faustum. Ibidem enim affirmat. “ Naturam ita obtemperantem esse suo auctori, ut id solum naturale dicatur, quod ipse velit fieri.” Sic autem habet. “ Contra naturam aliquid fieri dicitur, quum contra communem cursum, & consuetudinem aliquid fiat.” Unde apostolus; si tu ex naturali incisus oleastro, & contra naturam insertus es in bonam olivam, &c. Id dixit contra naturam quod est contra naturæ legem.

Ad. Rom.  
11<sup>o</sup>.

2<sup>o</sup>. Para.  
24<sup>o</sup>.

Minorem sic probo. Laudavit Deus factum Joe regis Judæ, quod accepit duas uxores: sed accipiens duas uxores, transilivit limites naturæ. Igitur, &c. Major ostenditur authoritate sacræ scripturæ. “ Accepit Joiada sacerdos duos uxores Joe regi.” Et ob hoc & alia ejus facta, dictum est in laudem ejus,



quod "rex Joas rectum fecerat, coram Domino <sup>40. Reg.</sup> cunctis diebus, quibus docuerat eum Joiada sacerdos." <sup>120.</sup>

Cum igitur Joiada docuit Joam accipere duas uxores, in hoc rectum fecit coram Domino.

Ex ijs jam licebit cernere, quam infirmum sit hoc fundamentum, & quam levi manu convelli, ac amoveri possit, super quod Abel tanquam super Petram solidissimam totum collocat ædificium. Verum hoc jam sublato fundamento, ut tota scil. corruat structura superimposita, necessum est.

## NUMBER XL.

p. 106.

*Dr. Croke to the king; concerning his agency in Italy.*

PLEASE yt your highnes to be advertysed, that <sup>Foxij MSS.</sup> syns the XXVIII day of Auguste, I delyvered unto friar Thomas xxij crouynes. Syns the whyche tyme he hathe got your highnes but vij subscriptions: the whyche I sent by Harwel the XIX of Octobre. And of them, two only excepte, there ys not on worthy thank. I have, & do often call upon hym; but he answerethe me, that there ys no mo doctors to be goten. The contrary wherof I knowye to be trew. And whan I demande off hym, for the declaration off my accompte, some remembrance of his hande for XLVII crouynes, whyche I have paide hym, he answeythe, that, at the ende of the cause, he wyl other make me a byll, or delyver me thold money ayene. And hys cause, why he wol make me no byl, ys, as he saithe, feare leste hys byl myght be shewed to your highnes adversaries. Off the whyche pretendyd feare, I so moche the more doubte, bycause I have taken hym twysse styffelye reasonyng upon the queenys part ayenste your highnes conclusion with a friar of Florence, whom afore thys day he alwayes assuryd me to be of your highnes opinion. Albeyt now he saithe, the said friar ys departyd beynge utter ennymye to the same. And in

communication, soverayne lorde, with me upon his said reasonyng with the said friar, he said to me, that themperors embassatour shulde say to hym, "*Qui velit procurare pro regina non staret intra paucula scuta,*" & he addyd these wordes to the same, "*Crede mihi, croce, posse me efficere, si velim facere, quod alij velint & faciunt, ut quicquid hacenus fecerim pro rege, illi magis obsit quam prosit.*"

Thys frute comythe off Raphaelles workes put in printe: makinge protestation in the worke written ayenste your highnes, "*Quod quidquid scripserit pro eadem, id omne tantum ex aliorum mente, non sua, ad ingenij exercitationem scripserit:*" and that the worke written ayenste your highnes ys hys very trew & playne opinion, & firme & ful sentence & mind. What hurte this worke (with sutch werkes as ar in Englishe set forth in England by constant rumour here) ayenste your highnes cause, dothe unto your highnes said cause, I have at length by doble lettres sent by the meane of Harwel from Venice to Antwarpe, & from Antwarpe to your highnes by post purposely, ascertayned your highnes.

And consyderinge that I can get no mo subscriptions, nother off friar Ambrose, nor off Thomas, very fear compellyng us to advertyse your highnes, that al these friars were firste & only attayned unto your h. by me. And Ambrose had off me, for the getting off the determination of Padua, for his part only, XX crouynes. Thomas hath had XLVII crouynes. Franciscus for hym & Dionysius LXXVII crouynes; as I can right wel prove. And thys notwithstanding, whan I cal upon them for som frute off none of theyr labour, except Dionysius, I can get none. And as Ambrose hath answered me, that  
 p. 107. my Lord of London hath commandyd hym, "*Tantum in causa regia facere, quantum ipsi præscriserit Cassalius.*" So Leonicus, a man off greate gravitye and lernynge, by hys lettres (wheroff a cotype I sende herein enclosyd) acertaynythe me of a wars poynte. Albeyt I trust yt be not so: for sutch commande-

mente coulde not but be prejudicial, as wel unto your highnes cause, as unto my labours taken in the same; & also to the losse off the money, that I have layd out to the said friars, for the same. Nor I cannot perceve how (yff thys be true) that I any more may preferre your most high causes in Venice & the parts about: whose importune labour my lord knowethe to have bene the principal & chefe cause of the success that your highnes cause hath had in Italye: wherein afore my commynge, nor yet by other men long after, there was (as your highnes & al other knowethe) nothinge erthely done.

And I beseeche your h. to ponde my good harte & acts passed; the whyche shal never (to dy for yt) cease to farther your said h. pleasure in thys behalffe with al payne, faythe & diligence, as the effecte of my endeavour I trust shal alwayes frutefully prove. And thus I beseeche our most merciful Saviour Christe long to preserve your most noble grace. At Venice the XXIII of Octobre, with the rude hand off your moste high majesties

Most humble & lauly servant,  
 RICHARDE CROKE.

## NUMBER XLI.

*An address from the convocation to the king, for an act to take away Annates, exacted by the court of Rome.*

WHERE the court of Rome hath a long season Cleopatra, E.6. p.263. exacted of such as have been named, or elected, to be archbps. or bps. of this realm, the annates, that is to say, the first fruites of their bishoprics, before they could obtain their bullys out of the said court; by reason wherof the thesaurie of this realm hath been had & conveyed to Rome, to no smal decay of this land, & to the great impoverishing of bps.: which if should dy within two or three years after their promotion, should dy in such debts, as should be to the

undoing of their friends & creditors: and by the same exaction of annates, bps. have been so extenuate, that they have not been able, in a great part of their lives, to repair their churches, houses & manors; which by reason therof have fallen into much decay: and besides, that the bps. have not been able to bestow the goods of the church in hospitality & almes, & other deeds of charity, which by the law, & by the minds of the doners of their possessions temporal, they were bound to do.

p. 103. In consideration wherof, forasmuch as it is to be accounted as symony by the popes own law, to take or give any mony for the collation, or for the consenting to the collation of a bpric., or of any other spiritual promotion: and to say, that the said annates be taken for the vacation, as touching the temporalities, pertaineth of right to the kings grace; & as touching the spirituality to the Archbp. of Canterbury: and it is not to be allowed, if it should be alledged, that the said court exacteth these annates for parchment & lead, & writing of the bullys. For so should parchment & lead be very dear merchandize at Rome, & in some cases an hundred times more worth, then the weight or counterpoize of fine gold.

In consideration also, that it is no reason, that the first fruites of such temporal lands, as the kings most noble progenitors, & other noblemen of this realm, have given to the church of England, upon high respects, causes & conditions, should be applied to the court of Rome; which continually getteth by this means, & many other, much goods & profits out of this realm, & never departeth with any portion therof hither again. For touching the same temporal lands, the bps. be subjects only to the kings gr. & not to the court of Rome: neither by reason of those possessions ought to pay these annates as a tribute to the said court. Wherfor if there were just cause, as there is none, why any sums of mony, besides the competent charges of the writing & seal-



ing, should be demanded for bps. bulls, the court of Rome might be contented with the annates of the spiritualties alone without exaction of the first fruites of the temporalties: in which they have none interest, right or superiority.

And further, in consideration that the bps. be sworn at their consecration, that they shal not alienate the immovable, or pretious movable goods of their bishopric; seeing the payment of these annates be an alienation of the first fruites, being precious movables: by the alienation wherof the bp. should fall into perjury:

And over this, forasmuch as it was ordained, determined & concluded in the 21st session at the general council of Basil, that from time ever after, for & in the confirmation of elections for admission of postulations or presentations, in or for provisions, collations, dispositions, elections, postulations, presentations, though it be made by a layman, in or for the institutions, installations, investitures of churches, cathedral, metropolitan, monasteries, dignities, benefices or ecclesiastical offices, whatsoever they be: also in or for orders, holy benediction, or palls, nothing at al, before or after, should bee exacted in the court of Rome, by the reason of letters, bulls, seals, annates, common or minute service, first fruits, or deportates, or by whatsoever other title, colour or name they be called, under the pretext of any custome, privilege or statute, or prerogative, or any other cause or occasion directly or indirectly: excepted only to the writers, abbreviators & registers of the letters, minutes & bulls, therto belonging, a competent salary for their labor: whose salary cannot be extended reasonably to the twentieth part of the annates, which be exacted & continually augmented: contrary to which ordinance, determination & canon, made in the said council, if any man exacting, giving or promising, would presume to do, he should fal into some great paines, as in the said council be expressed:

p. 109.

It may please the kings most noble grace, having tender compassion to the wealth of this his realm, which hath been so greatly extenuate & hindred by the payments of the said annates, & by other exactions & slights, by which the thesaure of this land hath been caried & conveyed beyond the mountaines to the court of Rome, that the subjects of this realm be brought to great penury, & by necessity be forced to make their most humble complaint for stoeping & restraining the said annates, & other exactions & expilations, taking for indulgences & dispensations, legacies, & delegacies, & other feats, which were too long to remember :

First, to cause the said injust exactions of annates to cease, & to be foredoen for ever, by act of this his graces high court of parliament. And in case the pope wol mak any proecess against this realm for the attaining those annates, or else wol retain bps. bulls, til the annates be payd, forasmuch as the exaction of the said annates is against the law of God, & the popes own lawes, forbidding the buying or selling of spiritual gifts or promotions ; & forasmuch as al good christen men be more bound to obey God then any man ; & forasmuch as St. Paul willeth us to withdraw our selves from al such as walk inordinately ; it may pleas the kings most noble grace to ordain in this present parliament, that then the obedience of him & the people be withdrawn from the see of Rome : as in like case the French king withdrew his obedience of him & his subjects from Pope Benedict the XIIIth of that name ; & arrested, by authority of his parliament, al such annates, as it appeareth by good writing ready to be shewed.

## NUMBER XLII.

RICHARDI SAMPSONIS.

*Regij sacelli decani, oratio: qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regiæ dignitati cum primis ut obediant; quia verbum Dei præcipit; episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo jure divino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita jubet rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint eos præcipuè docet legem divinam contemnere. Non est ergo quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Romani, qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est, humano consensu, in Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo, non homini.*

*Hæc est veritas verbo Dei firmata.*

NIHIL est aliud in sacris literis, quod me tantopere ad dilectionem Dei, & proximi invitat quam illud Joan. 13. ca. "Mandatum novum (inquit Christus) do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos, ut & vos diligatis invicem. Novum (inquit Christus) mandatum," &c. Quia prius solo verbo docti estis: nunc autem verbo & exemplo: "quia exemplum vobis dedi, ut sicut dilexi vos," &c. Ex hoc loco, dilectionis duo genera docentur, Dei scilicet erga hominem, & hominis erga hominem. Neq; non ex priore dilectione proficiscatur tertium dilectionis genus necesse est, nempe hominis erga Deum. Causam itaq; primæ dilectionis cum audieritis, crit quoq; & postremæ dilectionis manifesta vobis causa, neq; non esse necessarium tertiam illam dilectionem, hominis erga hominem, facile perspicietis. Si non esset alius locus ullus quam primum illud Genesios caput, satis perspicua est Dei erga hominem dilectio. Postquam enim alia omnia, quæ in cælo, in terra, in mari, quinq; primis diebus creaverit Deus, tum sexto die hominem qui omnibus præset, fecit. Neq; modo fecit ut alia priora, sed ad imaginem suam

E. Biblioth.  
Rev. Pa-  
tris D. Joh.  
Ep. Elien.

p. 110.

Dilectionis  
tria gene-  
ra.

Bonitas  
Dei erga  
hominem.

fecit, deditq; omnium rerum Dominum, (fecit inquam) *ut præsint*, &c. Hinc ait benedicens, *Crescite*, &c. *Et dominamini piscibus*, &c. Fecit præterea ad imaginem suam, quia sensum & intellectum & animam immortalem dedit. Quod ait ad similitudinem, &c. Innocentiam præstitit, quoad (quam) peccato amisit, neq; tamen è Paradiso abjecto, rerum dominium sustulit. Hinc David bonitatem Dei admirans erga hominem tam ingratum, “Quid est homo (inquit) quod memor es ejus, &c.? Minuisti eum Paulo ab angelis, gloria & honore coronasti. Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus,” &c. Nunquid non maxima sunt hujusmodi beneficia ergo hominem? Sed aliud longè maximum Dei beneficium est, quod priora omnia longissimè vincit. Misit enim filium suum Deus Pater, cui non pepercit, ut ait apostolus ad Rom. 8. ut nos filios iræ & damnationis, filios adoptionis efficeret. Misit, inquam, filium, ut per eum ad patrem, qui nobis prius irascebatur, facilem accessum haberemus. Factus est enim homo nostra causa. Omnes nostras misérias ut homo sustulit. Passus est. Redemit nos. Patri nos reconciliavit. Lavit, mundavit peccata nostra suo sanguine, pro omnibus mortuus. Per ipsum datur nobis remissio peccatorum. Ipse interpellat pro nobis, pro nobis apud Deum Patrem Mediator est. Nobiscum præsens est semper, quoties eum in veritate invocaverimus, ut opem ferat in tempore. Sed frustra hujus benignissimi Christi erga genus humanum beneficia numerare conarer, cum sint longissimè ineffabilia.

Christi benignitas  
erga hominem.

Dilectio  
Dei.

Nos tamen suo monet exemplo, *Sicut ego dilexi vos*, &c. Quis tam ferreus est, ut hunc optimum Deum ex toto corde, &c. amare nolit? Hoc est dilectionis secundum genus; de quo tota scriptura loquitur, & toties admonet, ut Deum diligamus, ut in eo spem omnem nostram constituamus, illi nos totos committamus. Neminem præter ipsum timeamus, si ejus negotium urgeat. “Dominus protector (inquit) vitæ mæ, a quo trepidabo?” Psal. 26. “Time te eum (inquit Christus) qui potest tradere corpus &



animam in Gehennam ignis." Mat. 5. Neque tamen servilis timor esse debet, sed sanctus, purus, reverendissimus, non aliter quam obsequiosissimus filius amantissimum suum patrem timet. Patrem amat ex animo. Offendere metuit, quia amat. Et si aliquando deliquerit, a patre non abhorret, sed eundem humiliter petit, ut veniam impetret. Eodem modo & diligamus nos Deum, et bonus quidem hic Deus, ne simus voluntatis ejus ignari, vitæ regulas tradidit. Docuit nos vias vitæ non hujus tantum, sed potius æternæ.

Neq; multa sunt præcepta, sed duo tantum; ut Deum ex toto corde diligas, & proximum sicut teipsum, id quod est dilectionis tertium genus. Visne scire quonam pacto Deum diligas? Paucissimis verbis docet Christus. *Si diligitis me* (inquit) *mandata mea servate*, Jo. 14. Hic labor. neq; prodest omnis labor, nisi diligatis. Hinc orat propheta, "Dirigie gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur vestigia mea. *Item*, Gressus meos dirigie secundum eloquium tuum." In hac prece solliciti simus, (cum neutiquam sufficiat nostra imbecillitas, ut Dei mandata servemus) ut dirigamur in Deum. Sunt tamen multi civiles mores, natura docente, quos præcipit quoq; Deus, qui in nostro sunt arbitrio & potestate ut faciamus. Ab illis qui se excusare potest, nullus est. Qui igitur ea præcepta non facit, non servat, *dignissimus est qui vapulet multis*: Luce 12. Cujus generis sunt proximo non nocere, ejus bona injustè non auferre, furtum non facere, Neminem dolo decipere, falso crimine non urgere, id quod cumprimis impium est, &c. Præpositis obedire. Hæc etenim, & id genus alia multa, hominis ipsa natura docet. Sed postquam & eadem suo mandato firmaverit Deus, omni conatu ut servemus, elaborandum est. Et nisi quidem servaverimus, erimus planè digni multimodo supplicio.

Quod autem adjeci inter alia, præpositis obediendum esse, diligentem cautionem habeamus oportet, ut illi obedianciem præstemus, cui debetur. *Cui*

p. 111.  
Diligere  
Deum est  
mandata  
servare.

Obedien-  
dum regi.

*honorem, honorem, &c.* ad Ro. 13. *Regem honorificate*, 1 Pet. 2. Et sis cautus oportet, eo ne spreto, cui Dei præcepto obedire teneris, illi obedias, cui nullam obedientiam debes. Hoc enim grave peccatum est. Mandat Deus, ut regi obedias. Neq; modo hoc præcipit, sed præterea nisi feceris damnationem minatur, ad Ro. 13. Quicquid ergo mandat princeps id facias oportet, quia sic præcipit Deus, modo nihil mandet contra Deum. Neq; illi aut verbo, aut facto resistendum est, quia potestatem habet a Deo. Et qui ei resistit, Dei potestati resistit (inquit apostolus) a quo potestatem accepit. Et qui illi resistit sibi damnationem acquirit, inquit idem. O! magnum præceptum, & ab omnibus observandissimum! Si vero ut serves non admonet Dei amor, æternæ damnationis timore, nisi deploratissimus fueris, servabis plane. Hoc est præceptum, quod ex voluntate tua pendet, ut facias. Potes enim id facere. Et nisi quidem id feceris, non modo præsentaneam vindictam, ex manu regis meritis es, sed etiam æternam, ex manu Dei. Hinc ait apostolus, “Ideoq; necessitati subditi estote, non modo propter iram,” quia se potest vindicare de te, “sed etiam propter conscientiam,” quia præceptum Dei est. Et qui agit contra conscientiam, ædificat ad Gehennam. “Vis ergo non timere principis iram?” Obediens esto, & malum ne facito. Si enim non obedieris, malum facis. Iram igitur time.

A potestate regis eximitur nemo.

Ab hac ira; ab hoc jure principis, inobedientes afficiendi, eximitur prorsus nemo, nullum genus hominum, nisi quos suo donaverit beneficio. Quicúnq; ergo is est, qui non vult timere gladium, regi & ejus legibus obediat. Sin autem time, quia potestatem habet a Deo princeps, “in hoc ipsum, (ut ait apostolus) quia minister Dei est,” ut inobedientes & malos coerceat. “Est enim constitutus ad vindictam malefactorum & laudem bonorum,” quos tuetur, defendit, honorificat. 1 Pet. 2. Et quemadmodum ad ejus officium pertinet, bonos & probos tueri & defendere, sic inobedientes & immorigeros, dignis pœnis afficere.

Hanc potestatem habet a Deo. Palam est. Scripturæ manifestæ sunt. Est enim verbum Dei, quo docemur, ut huic potestati obediamus. Neminem prorsus excipit. Neq; in sacris literis unum jota reperitur, quod immorigerum & peccantem quempiam, a regia potestate eximat. p. 112.

Non est ergo quod mireris, si delinquentem, aut sacerdotem, aut monachum, aut episcopum, supplicio affectum videris, magis quam laicum. *Si malum faceris* (inquit apostolus) *time potestatem* gladij. Hoc enim omnibus, & ad singulos omnes loquitur. *Nam si deliqueritis, quenam gratia* (inquit D. Petrus) *si colaphisati suffertis*, 1 Pet. 2. Conversationem igitur bonam habete (inquit) ne vobis detrectare possint homines, tanquam de malefactoribus. *Subditi igitur estote*, &c. inquit. Ut simus ergo regi & ejus potestati, ejus legibus subditi in omnibus, quæ ad hujus sæculi negotia pertinent, mandat Deus ipse.

Cum ergo hanc Supremam potestatem habeat a Deo, ut jam a verbo Dei accepistis, mirum est reperire tam stultos homines, qui hunc regem Supremi Capitis appellatione ornari, quantum in eis est, non sinunt, & ut non recipiant alij, aut imprudenter, aut impudenter & malevolè contendunt. Nonne supremi capitis nomine dignus est, cui soli in terris data est verbo Dei illa quam diximus suprema potestas? Velim qui se doctos arbitrantur, unam aliam potestatem proferant è sacris literis, quæ possit huic æquari. Hanc ergo potestatem habent reges ab ipso Deo, *ejus ministri sunt*, ab eo *missi sunt*, (ut ait D. Petrus in priore loco) *ejusq; vicarii sunt*. Omnes ergo huic potestati obediant necesse est, qui volunt esse subditi Deo. Alias quidem Deum vere rejicit, vel spernit potius, qui non recipit eum, & ei non obedit, quem mittit Deus, cui expressam hanc potestatem dedit. Vocetur idcirco Supremum Caput, quia verè talis est, verbo divino confirmatus.

Id quod naturalis quoq; ratio, & usus rei apertè docent. Quis nescit totum regnum unum esse politicum corpus, singulos homines ejusdem corporis Idq; ratio docet.

membra esse? Ubinam est hujus corporis caput? Est ne aliud quam rex? Aliud plane non est. Aliud usquam reperiri non potest. Usus rei hoc te manifestissimè docet. Quid fieri, quid statui, quid discerni potest absq; regio consensu? Quid laxari, quid dissolvi, quid remitti, absq; eodem potest? Videsne supremi Capitas Supremam potestatem? Cur detractas illum suo nomine vocare? Si id per imprudentiam feceris, disce & resipisce. Si malevolè, pœniteat te celeriter, & isto subditus Deo, qui hoc mandat. Sin autem, ut communis pacis perturbatur afficiaris, jure pateris, & quidem divino. Mandat jus divinum, ut obedias. Pœnam statuit lex humana, suo jure. Hoc enim regi statuendum relinquitur. Neq; est rex qui vindicat sed Deus, cujus minister est, & a quo hanc accipit potestatem. “Meum est enim consilium,” &c. “Per me reges (inquit Deus) regnant,” &c. Prov. 8. “Mihi (inquit Deus) vindicta, et ego retribuam,” quia minister, vicarius meus, vel in hoc sæculo retribuet meo nomine, vel ego æterna pœna afficiam. Esto cautus, ne utrunq; patiaris. Non potest planè non utrunq; pati, qui verbum Dei contemnit. Quid aliud est quàm contemnere verbum Dei, non obedire regi, ministro dei, vicario Dei?

In episcopi  
Romani  
arrogantem  
potestatem.

p. 113.

Non episcopum illum Romanum vicarium Dei intelligo, qui jure suo non habet quod agat, extra suam provinciam. Episcopus est Romanus: agat Romæ episcopum. In Anglia plus potestatis non habet, quam habeat Cantuariensis episcopus Romæ. Nul- lum planè verbum est in sacris literis, quod illi extra suam Romanam provinciam ministerij quicquam tribuat. Id quod tibi exploratissimum efficiam. Si, quam tantopere ambit jure divino, potestatem habet, verbo Dei manifestum faciat, oportet. Sed de Romano episcopo magis quam de Cantuariensi, nulla prorsus est in sacris literis mentio. Ex hoc igitur fonte, hanc aquam laurire nequit, ubi nulla prorsus est.

Quod ait se Petri successorem esse, tum ab hac successione hanc potestatem accepisse, si adesset D. Petrus, negaret planè, & in hunc mendacem haud



dubiè clamaret, O ! impostorem, O ! virum ambitiosum, superbum, arrogantem. Docuit me magister meus Christus humilitatem, abnegationem mei ipsius, hujus seculi, totiusq; fastus ejus contemptum, pacem, &c. Sed qui meo nomine primatum sibi vendicat, quam habet nihil humilitatis, docent perspicuè quidem externi mores. Ex fructibus cognoscitur arbor. Pro abnegatione suiipsius, omnia pro voluptate & libidine facere ambit. Pro hujus sæculi contemptu, nihil tam amat quam quæ sunt hujus sæculi. Fastu, pompa, gentium principes vincit. Pro pace bellum ubiq; serit, non aliam ob causam, quam ut vivat ipse, agatq; omnia pro libidine. Hæc, inquam, & longe plura de Romano episcopo diceret D. Petrus, si adesset. Sed de Romanis corruptissimis moribus & *abominabilibus*, ut ait Psal. 13. interim taceo. Non enim minori negotio oceani omnem prope aquam exhaurirem, quam illos mores omnes recenserem, & pro dignitate tractarem. Deum precor pro christiana charitate, ut Deum agnoscere discat, agnitum amet. Ut quæ præcipet Christus, tandem incipiat studiosius episcopus Romanus imitari. Ut quemadmodum jam plerisq; annis, omnium fuit abominationum (ut uno vocabulo mala omnia complector) parens & pater, non Christi, sed Sathanæ opera porrigens, ita & tandem resipiscat, ut de uno tam famoso peccatore converso, gaudeant multi Christiani viri, qui nunc illum odio prosequuntur; odio inquam bono & justo. *Iniquos* (inquit propheta) *odio habui*. Et cum primis discat episcopus Romanus intra suos fines se continere. Stulte enim id vendicat hæreditario jure, quod sancti parentes neq; habuerunt unquam, nec habere voluerunt.

Nihil enim minus arrogavit sibi D. Petrus, quàm hujusmodi primatum. Exercuit nunquam. Ideo non exercuit, quia non accepit. Nusquam reperies illum, aut aliquem apostolorum aliquando misisse, aut alicui jussisse quicquam. Illum ab apostolis una cum Johanne missum legimus, Act. 8. Quod autem in Ananiam fecit Petrus, Act. 5. non ut primatum

Nullam  
primatum  
accepit  
D. Petrus.

habens, sed tanquam unum apostolorum fecisse, tam ex principio illius cap. quam ex alia parte exploratum est. Ait enim, non ad Petri, sed ad apostolorum pedes Ananiam agri pretium posuisse. Postea verò, ne Petrum in Ananiam id fecisse putaretur, superioris potestatis gratia, non per manus Petri, sed “per manus apostolorum (inquit Lucas) fiebant signa, & prodigia multa in plebe, spiritu prophetiæ huic malo velut occurens. Neq; in alio loco, ut tolleretur murmur Græcorum contra Hebræos, multitudinem discipulorum convocavit Petrus, sed duodecim, inquit, &c. Act. 6. Neq; constat in illo loco, quis eorum ad multitudinem sermonem fecerit. *Dixerunt* (inquit) &c. cum tamen præsentibus essent duodecim omnes; quia sic narrat Lucas, quorum unus erat D. Petrus.

p. 114. Quod si absolutam illam, quam jactant, haberet solus Petrus potestatem, quid de Paulo dicemus, qui eo inconsulto, Corinthios, Galathas, Romanos ipsos, &c. sua doctrina solidavit: Timotheum, Ephesijs, Titum Cretis, ut quæ deessent, corrigeret, presbyteros per civitates constitueret, &c. præposuit; ipsum Petrum in facie reprehenderit, &c.? Neq; contulit evangelium cum solo Petro, sed cum apostolis, ad Galat. 2. Quod si D. Petro primatum potestatis asserere voluerimus, ultra Judæos non protenditur Pauli testimonio, qui se positum ait prædicatorem gentium & doctorem, 1 Timoth. 2. Et non minus creditum ei evangelium præputij, quam Petro circumcisionis. Neq; Petrum neq; apostolos reliquos omnes, quicquam illi contulisse, ait. Neq; Petro primatus quicquam tribuit supra alios apostolos. Ait enim, Jacobus, Cephas & Joannes, “qui videbantur columnæ esse, societatis dextras dederunt mihi & Barnabæ.” Ad Galat. 2. In quo loco non modo Petrum æquat alijs, sed etiam primæ vocationis honore non præmittit. Priorem enim Jacobum nominat.

Te su  
Petrus, &c.

Neq; ad rem pertinet, quod Petro loqueretur Christus in evangelio, dicens; “Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo eccle-

siam meam :” Mat. 16. Non enim ædificavit Christus ecclesiam suam super Simonem Petrum, super hominem, hoc esset planè super harenam ædificare, sed super illam fidem, quam confessus est Petrus, quod Christus esset filius Dei, &c. Huic ait in Simonis Petri persona omnibus apostolis, “ Simon, ecce Sathanas expetivit vos, &c. Ego autem rogari, ut non deficiat fides tua,” &c. Luc. 22. Quod autem dixi Christum loquutum omnibus apostolis in persona Petri, ne videatur somnium esse meum, omittam omnes veteres interpretes, tam Græcos quam Latinos, & solum mihi Lyranum, familiarem illum & domesticum, omnibus Romani episcopi adulatoribus interpretem, accipio. In illo enim loco 16 Mat. sic explanat. “ *Et ego dico tibi, pro te* (inquit Lyranus) & *pro socijs tuis*, quia *tu es Petrus*, id est, confessor veræ Petræ, qui est Christus factus; Et *super hanc Petram* quam confessus es, id est, super Christum, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.” Hæc Lyranus ad verbum. Neq; alius est sensus illius loci, Luc. 22. Fides etenim Petri, quam confessus est, non illius solius Petri est, sed totius ecclesiæ. Sic orans pro fide illius, oravit Christus pro fide ecclesiæ, id quod solum fundamentum est, 1. Corinth. 3. Quod autem addidit Luc. 22. “Tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos;” hoc enim & ad omnes, & ad singulos quosq; fideles, in Petri persona, loquebatur Christus. Est quidem officium unius cujúsq; Christiani viri fratrem sollicitè docere, consolari, corripere, &c. “Convertamur igitur omnes (inquit ibidem D. Ambrosius) & caveamus, ne in perditionem, aliqua inter nos de prælatione possit esse contentio. Item Paulo post, sermonem ad Deum vertens, tua (inquit) ædificatio quæritur, non alterius honor. Et ideo datur una omnibus forma sententiæ, ut non de prælatione jactantia sit, sed de humilitate contentio. Hactenus Ambrosius.”

Quod autem ait Christus ad Petrum, *Et tu conversus*, &c. non sentit de futurâ suâ potestate, sed quod modo, cum conversus fuerit, & fidem receperit,

Simon,  
ecce Sathanas, &c.

Et tu con-  
versus, &c.

p. 115. & quidem celeriter, quia primam Dei sequutus est vocem, (ut ait D. Ambrosius) studeat alios in eadem fide confirmare. Id quod nullius Christiani viri non est officium, ut supra dixi. Hanc itaq; doctrinam omnibus dedit in persona Petri; potissimùm verbi prædicatoribus.

Non erat itaq; ecclesiæ potestas in persona Petri. Absit, ut ab humana fragilitate pendeat Christi ecclesia; sed cum esset primus apostolorum, ordine, non potestate, propter illum primatum (inquit Augustin. Joan. ultimo) non verè, sed figurata generalitate, ecclesiæ personam gerebat. Quod autem ad ipsum Petrum propriè pertinet (inquit Augustinus) unus homo erat gratiâ, unus Christianus abundantiore gratiâ, unus idemq; primus apostolorum, &c. Lege ibidem quæ sequuntur in nostram sententiam, adeo perspicuè, ut nihil clarius. Primus erat apostolorum primaria potestate præditus. Erant enim potestate æquales.

Trina interrogatio Christi.

Nec trina illa interrogatio, una cum commissione, ut oves pasceret, Joan. ultimo, magis ad Petrum quam alios apostolos pertinet, nisi quod trina illa interrogatione Petrum confirmare voluit Christus, commemoratione prioris trinæ negationis suæ, ut solidius in fide incederet. Hinc ait, *sequere me*. Neq; trina illa Christi interrogatio de dilectione, omnes non sollicitè admonet de fide erga Deum & dilectione ejus, unde omnis virtus emanat.

Si adesset itaq; D. Petrus nihil haud dubiè magis ægrè ferret, quam quod suo titulo suoq; nomine, hanc plusquam secularem potestatem sibi vendicat Romanus episcopus. Si enim D. Petrus hanc potestatem a Christo accepisset cum illo mandato, ut solus exerceret, ab eoq; suam potestatem acciperent alij omnes, ut nunc sibi arrogat Romanus episcopus, & peccasset valde Petrus, qui jussioni non obtemperabat; & perditissimè errassent, qui absq; eo in ecclesia Christi ministrassent. Neq; hanc rem tacuisset, in apostolorum Actis, Lucas haud dubiè, qui post Christi ascensionem apostolorum gesta scripsit. Sed



quam alienum est ab Actis Apostolorum jam satis perspicuè diximus.

Cum ergo hanc non haberet potestatem D. Petrus, unde arrogavit sibi Romanus episcopus? A principum scilicet atq; populorum nimia tolerantia & illius loci episcoporum fœda ambitione & superbia. Id quod ut omni solo clarius perspicias, efficiam; neq; tam multis. Primum, certius aliud nihil est sub cœlo, quam quod episcopo Romano aut primatus aut potestatis plus non tribuatur jure divino, quam cuivis alij episcopo, sive in Anglia, sive in Gallia, sive in Italia, cum ne D. quidem Petrus haberet. Super est ut eam, quam arrogat potestatem, humano jure habuerit, necesse est. Pleriq; igitur ex primis Romanis Pontificibus neq; ambierunt, neq; exercere aliquando conati sunt, neq; illis, aut eorum cuivis tribuerunt alij, talem potestatem. Extant quidem nonnullæ familiares epistolæ D. Cypriani episcopi Carthaginensis ad Cornelium Romanum episcopum, ducentos & quinquaginta circiter annos post Christum. Quantum vero primatus illi tribuat, illarum superscriptio docet non obscurè: *Cyprianus Cornelio fratri* (inquit) *salutem*. Neque epistolarum verba ampliorem illi potestatem tribuunt. Fidem verò verbi Dei, quam ambo apostoli Petrus & Paulus, tam sua doctrina quàm tandem martyrio, solidam reliquerunt, præ cæteris locis Romæ, & venerati sunt prisci illi patres, & integram adhuc Cypriani ætate, servarunt felices Romani episcopi. Neq; Damaso Romano episcopo trecentos & quadraginta octo circitor annos, post Christi ad patrem hinc reditum, alium primatum tribuit D. Hieronymus in suis ad eum epistolis, quam ut fidem illius Romanæ sedis imitetur, & eam magnificat. Quod autem ait D. Hieronymus, “Extra hanc domum qui Agnum comederit, prophanus est,” in epistola quæ incipit; *quoniam vetusto*, To. 3. pag. 59. *Extra hanc fidem* haud dubie sentit; quantumvis in illo potissimum loco non tam sincerè loqui videtur Erasmus, quam in alijs plerisq; locis, qui illam domum nimis inadvertenter Romanæ eccle-

Unde prodit episcopi Romani arrogati potestas.

siæ primatum interpretatur. Non enim in illa ætate agnoscebatur hujusmodi primatus.

Quinam  
primatus  
episcopo  
Rom. in  
concilio  
Nicensi;

Quod si aliud nihil extra sacras literas hujus primatus vim enervaret, de ipsoq; omnem opinionem tolleretur, satis, mea sententia, primum illud sanctissimum Niceni (Nicum) concilium, omnibus ut certam doctrinam accipiant, sufficeret; in quo neq; aderat Romanus episcopus, neq; præerat vicaria quavis potestate. Procuratorem ut confrater & coepiscopus illuc miserat, in eodemq; in hunc ordinem constitutus est Romanus episcopus, ut apostolorum Petri & Pauli honoris gratia, primum locum inter episcopos haberet, alium primatum nullum.

Et apud  
Græcam  
ecclesiam.

Neq; Græcorum ecclesia inter tot beatissimos, eosdemq; in sacris literis doctissimos viros, alium aliquando de Romana ecclesia primatum agnoscere voluit. Id quod miretur nemo, cum postea in Africano. Concilio ducentorum decem & octo episcoporum id idem negatum est Bonifacio Romano episcopo, qui primatum ambiebat. Præsens erat divus Augustinus, Aurelio Valentino episcopo præsidente. Si verbo Dei hanc supremam potestatem haberet Romanus episcopus, tot optimos & eruditissimos patres utriusq; linguæ haud dubiè non fugissent, neq; negassent, quod sacræ literæ firmassent. Nulla ergo de verbo Dei erat controversia in Africano concilio quod ad primatum Romani episcopi attinet, sed an talem illi potestatem dedisset Nicenum concilium, humanus consensus in dubium vocabatur. Hinc & Romani episcopi procuratores, ut Niceni concilij articulos acciperent, rogarant Africani, & ne dolo circumvenirentur, in Græciam nuntios miserunt illi, qui afferrent. Hæc gesta sunt ad quadringentos viginti quatuor annos ab anno salutis.

An Angli  
obligantur  
Romanæ  
sedi.

Non objiciat nobis Anglis argutus quispiam, quod Romanæ sedis solitudine, regnante Lucio, primi omnium provinciarum, anno salutis humanæ 182. Christi fidem accepimus. Quis nescit non hominis, sed Dei esse donum, fidem? ut ait apostolus ad Ro. 12. Id quod in hoc loco perspicuum est. Quia

Lucium regem non sollicitarit Eleutherius Romanus episcopus, sed per literas egit Lucius cum Eleutherio, ut Christi fidem, hoc est - - - - - as, acciperet. Misit itaq; Eleutherius Fugatium & Damianum, &c. Neq; non postea, anno a natali Christi 603. Augustinum & Miletum (Mellitum) monachos, una cum alijs misit D. Gregorius, qui prope extinctam in Britannia fidem, Anglorum dominio, renovavit, normas religiosæ vitæ in Christo nonnullas dedit, &c. Hæc & nonnulla alia nobis, inquam, obijciunt; quibus Romanæ sedis nos obligatiores docere cupiunt, quam alias nationes, paucis respondetur. Nisi Eleutherius rogatus a rege viros misisset, qui sanctum conatum suum auxissent, ejusq; petitioni satisfecissent, haud episcopi nomine, sed dæmonis dignior fuisset. Magis miror illum non accurrisse. Gregorij solitudinem quis non laudat? Ejus canones libenter Ethelbertus rex amplexus est, aliud non docentes quam sanas, & religiosæ vitæ in Christo regulas, quibus velut duceretur facilius in fidem Christi novitius adhuc populus. Non imperium sibi arrogavit, dominari non ambiebat, venit exemplo Christi ministrare, non ministrari. Alijs mandatis, jussionibus, imperijs regnare noluit, quam verbo Dei. Non coegit provinciæ homines ad se venire, dirimendarum causarum gratia, citationibus, comminatorijs, excommunicationum (fulminibus) populum vexare noluit. Tantùm ad sanam vitam hortatus est. In hac re omnem solitudinem exercuit, omnes vires exhibuit, quærens non quæ sua fuerunt, sed quæ Christi. His mandatis obediebat Christianissimus rex. His monitionibus parebat populus Deo deditus, non quia jubebat homo Romanus episcopus, sed qui mandat Deus. Non suis verbis hortatus est, sed Christi.

p. 117.

Ab hoc verbo cum degeneraverit Romanus episcopus, quid justius quam illum, & ambitiosos ejus canones omnes rejicere, respuere prorsus? Non enim sunt Christi, sed verè hujus sæculi canones, quid aliud quam fastum, ambitionem, superbiam,

Pedum  
Papæ oscu-  
latio.

avaritiam non docent. Hinc insignis hujusmodi primatus, hinc dominium, plusquam regum gentium, hinc abhorrendum illud pedum osculum. Paulus & Barnabas exilierunt in turbam, etiam conscissis vestibus præ dolore, cum eos cæpisset adorare populus, clamantes, et nos mortales sumus, similes vobis homines. Act. 14. Cum vero ad Petri pedes procideret Cornelius, illico elevavit cum Petrus dicens, *Surge, & ego ipse homo sum.* Act. 10. Quonam igitur modo cupit Romanus episcopus ut ei sint audientes Christiani populi, postquam omnia quæ mandat tam sunt adversa Christo? Aut ergo Christus deferendus est, aut his moribus Romanus episcopus. Nemo potest duobus his dominis servire.

Rex excu-  
tit papam.

Quamdiu Christum sequuti sunt Romani episcopi, nulla fuit omnium Christianorum natio, tam illi subjecta, tam obediens (non supremæ potestatis gratia, sed sua sponte) quam Anglica, in magnam usq; superstitionem. Neq; non diu & multis quidem annis intolerabiles ab hac sede Romana molestias injuriâsq; sustinuit Anglica respublica. Postquam vero neq; modus neq; finis reperiri posset, prudentissimus rex non aliter quàm debuit, quamvis tardè, suæ reip. consuluit. Constituit ille, cui omnes verbo Dei obedire tenemur, ne obedientiam illi præstemus, qui nullo verbo Dei obedientiam exigit. Qui ergo Christianus & haberi & esse vult, Christi verbo obediat necesse est. Regi obedire teneri verbo Dei, ut perspicuè docuimus, Romano episcopo neutiquam. Jubet rex ut illi optemperes. Jubet Romanus episcopus, ut illi te subijcias: Jubet rex verbo Dei. Humano juresibi vendicat Romanus episcopus. Si te Christianum fatearis, Dei verbo parebis. “Si me diligis (inquit Christus) serva mandata mea. Nam quicumq; non diligit me, mandata mea non servat. Et quicumq; non mecum est, contra me est,” inquit. Ut ergo sis ex parte Dei, agas quod mandat Deus necesse est. Alias quidem eris planè de inimicis illis, qui noluerunt regem regnare super se, ut ait Lucas, cap. 19. Moriemini in peccatis vestris, quia Deum non modo



non diligitis, sed etiam odio eum habere videmini, quia verbum ejus respuitis, & planè contemnitis, postquam id docti estis, nisi spreta omni humana potestate, verbo Dei obedieritis. Verbum Dei est, obedire regi, non episcopo Romano.

Quodam tacito humano consensu irrepsit in hanc ditionem Romanus episcopus. Ex multis, & quidem justissimis causis, ut partim supradiximus expresso consensu sancitum est, huic potestati amplius ne subjugamini. Hoc mandat Deus, quia rex Dei in terris minister; cui verbo Dei suprema potestas datur, hoc præcipit. Utitur jure suo. Non vult amplius pati, ut qui diu nimis, non alia quam precaria potestate usus est, illum è suo jure extrudat. Huic sanctioni obedire tenetur quisquis Anglus est, ut cum primis regem - - - - - Reip. *supremum caput* diligatis, ut vos - - - - - hujus capitis membra estis. Diligatis vos invicem magis ac magis, sicut ego (inquit Christus) & dilexi vos. Ut ab hac unanimi - - - - - quietam in hac momentanea vita agatis, & post hanc vitam filij sitis Dei, cohæredes Christi, quem diligitis, cujusq; verbo obedijstis in vitam æternam. Amen.

p. 118.

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### NUMBER XLIII.

*A letter of Hugh Latymer to Hubberdine: who had preached against the New Learning.*

The sprite of God be with you, to seale the trowth, & folowe the same. Amen.

I DOWT not, Master Haberdyne, but that yee have redd the sayenge of the sprete by hys prophet Esaias, "Væ! qui dicunt bonum malum, & malum bonum; ponentem lucem tenebras, & tenebras lucem," &c. Which words, after myne understanding, be thus moch in English: "Woo, or eternal dampnation, be unto them which saye that good ys evell, & that evell is good: calling lyght darckness, & darckness lyght," &c. Take hede. Remembre your self wel.

Foxij MSS.

Yee maye mocke & deceeive us: *Deus non irridetur.* God will not (for all that) be mocked. It ys not the sayenge of wyse Aristotle, of godly Plato, of holy Thomas; no, nor yet of subtile Duns (who, for al their wysedome, godliness, holyness & subtilty deceeived, were deceeived, & lyed) but it is the eternal & perpetual word of God. Who as he deceiveth no man, so can he be deceeived of no man, nor yet make any lye. God it is that sayth, "Woo (or eternal dampnation) be unto hym that sayeth good is evell," &c. It is no thretnyng of man, but it is the sentence of God: wherfore it is the more to be feared, & undowtedly to be loked for. For it is only the word of God, that lasteth ever, & may sustayne no chaunge.

Do you mervel, wherfore I say this? It is only brotherly love, & my conscience which compelleth me, as bonden, brotherly to admonish you, not only of the grevous blasphemies against the truth, which ye uttered here on the Aseension day; but also to exhorte you to desist of your purposed blasphemie & lies against God & his word, which ye have promised to prove in this same place this day. And that ye may know that ye inexcusably blasphemed & belied the trouth, & promised to do the same, partly here I wil confute your blasphemies that be past, & partly that be promysed.

p. 119.

And fyrst to begynne with that which ys past. Ye sayed, that it was plaine that this *new lerning* (as ye eall it) was not the trowth, & so not of God, but contrarywise that it was lyes, & so surely of the devell. This your assertion ye proved by two maner conjectures. The one is, that the professors of it lyve noughtly, & the other ys, that prestes be persecuted of them. Which two persuasions, though they be in very dede lyes, as I trust in God to show them: yet though they were true, did but yeasily prove your inteneion. For after the same maner, ye maye as wel openly improve Christ & al hys doetrine, as ye do now under a colour: of which I

wil entreate more largely. But to our purpose, that as ye say it is playne that this *new lernynge* (as ye call it) is not the trowth, & so not of God, but contrarywise, it is lyes, & surely of the devle: herein are containyd three great blasphemies & abhominable lyes, injurious both to God and his word: and, I fear, synne agaynst the Holy Ghost: for they are even the same words with the example of Christ, declaring the synne agaynst the Holy Ghost.

For to begynne withal: ye call the scripture the *new lerninge*; which I am sure is eldre than any lerninge, that ye wote to be the old. But if ye wil say that it ys not the scripture that ye cal new, but other bokes, lately put in English: I answere, that the scripture was the fyrst with you & your fautors condemned. Besyde, that those other, for the most, teach nothing, but that which ys manifest in the scripture; & also playne in the auncient doctors. I speak not of your old doctors, Duns & Saint Thomas, Halcot, Briget, - - - - - but of Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Hilary, & soch other; which in like maner be called new doctors, as the scripture new lerninge; as Tully new Latine, the text of Aristotle new philosophy, & likewise of al the sciences. And so in this appereth your fyrst lye, that ye cal the scripture *new doctrine*: except that ye wold cal it new, other because it makes the receavors of it new men, or els that it ys now newly restored unto the world, for the condemnation of them that reject it, & the salvation of the receavors: of which newnes I am sure you spake not. I pray you was not the scripture, if ye wold contend, before your most auncient doctors, that ye can allege to have written of it? Was it not, afore they wrote upon it, better received? More purely understande? Of more myghty workynge, then it ys now, or sens they wrote upon it? In Saint Pauls tyme, when there was no writers upon the New Testament, but that the playne story was then newly put forth, were there not more converted by, I dare boldly say, two

parties, then there be at this houre; I wil not say christien men, but that professe the name of Christ? Is it not now the same word as it was then? Is not the same scholemaster, that taught them to understande it then, which, as Saint Peter saith, ys the sprete of God alyve as wel as he was then? Doth he not favour us now as wel as he did then? Have we hym not now, as wel as we had then? If we have not the sprete of Christ, S. Paul sayeth, so be we no christen men. And yf we be no christen men, so be you deceavers & false prophets; preaching unto your self your authoritie & your constitutions without the word of God; which is only the rule of faith, according to the saying of Saint Paul: p. 120. Where he sayeth, that *faith ys of hearing*. And that not of al maner hearing, but of hearing of the word of God: which faith also is the fyrst frute of the sprite of God: which sprite yf we have not, so testifie you against us, that we be no christen men, & against your self, that you be no mynisters, or shepards of Christ, nor of his word, but the mynisters of antichrist, & shepards of your own bellies. Which sperit yf we have, so beareth us witnes S. Paul, that we be christen men; & S. Peter, that we may understand the scripture: which only is that the lay people desyre: utterly contemnyng al mens draughtes, & al mens writings, how wel lerned soever they be; only contented with their old & new scholemaster, the Holy Spirit of God, & the mynister there to of hym elect, & by him sent.

But you wil say, ye condempne not the scripture, but Tyndals translation. Therein ye show your self contrary unto your words; for ye have condemned it in al other commen tongues, where in they be approved in other countries: so that it is playne that is the scripture & not the translation that ye bark against, calling it *new lerning*.

This moch for the fyrst. And as for the two other be sone confuted. That it ys *not the trouth*, nor *of God*, but *lyes*, & *of the devel*. O! Jesu,



mercy, that ever soch blasphemie against the Holy Ghost shuld procede out a christen mans mouth. Is it not al one to saye, that the doctrine of Christ is lies, & cometh of the devel, & that Christ ys a lyar, & the devel? What difference, I pray you, ys here, betwixt this blasphemy, & that which the Phariseys imputed unto Christ, when they saied, "We know that thou art a Samaritane, & hast the devel within thee?" When that Christ sayed, that the blasphemie against the Holy Ghost shuld never be forgiven. If ye have sayed this of ignorance, I pray God bring you to knowledge & repentance. Yf ye spake it against your conscience, of malice against the trouth, (as he knoweth, *qui scrutator cordium est*) I fear me, lest tyme of repentance, which, God forbid, shal ever be given you in this lyfe. O! Lord God, what a wresting of the scripture was it to enterpretate, & - - - - those words of S. Paul, "Before the coming of antichrist, there shal be a departing from the pope," when as the text sayeth playnely, antichrist was comen already, & that he then worked secretly, & that there shuld be a departing from the faith, & that he shuld be opened unto al men afore the comyng of Christ. For shame, na for conscience, other allege the scriptures aright, without any soch wresting, or els abstayne out of the pulpet.

But now to come to your conjectures, by which ye persuaded your assertions; that is, that the scripture was new lerning, Christ a lyar & the devle. Which are, that the fautors & professors therof *lyve noughtly*, & that they *persecute prestes*. Fyrst, besydes that it ys manifest, that you conjectures both be fals: for the purenes of lyfe of the favourers of it, I speyke of them that are of my only knowledge, their vertuous lyvinge ys so knowen, that it ys but folly for me to labor to confute it. And that they persecute prestes, I wold gladly here of one prest so moch as ones prisoned, I mean not for whoredom, theft & murders, with soch their commen practises, but for hys faithes sake: except it were

p. 121. soch, as you your self persecuted, as ye do, for know-  
 ledging the trouth. Nede ye that I bring forth  
 examples? Remember ye not the honest preste, that  
 the last yere was martyred by you in Kent? Do ye  
 not hold Nicolson, Smyth, Patmore & Philips, with  
 many other, in prison, yet at this howre?

[The rest is wanting.]

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## NUMBER XLIV.

*An old popish song made of Latimer.*

1.

OH! thou ravishing wolf in a lambs skin,  
 What mischief encreaseth daily thee by?  
 For many saulys to the devil thou dost win,  
 Beseching of thy abhominable heresie.  
 Yet feythful men thy words may defy.  
 The which is more to thy rebuke & shame,  
 So to impair the pore christen name.

2.

The blessed pure Virgin, & mother to Christ,  
 Thou seydest in preaching a sinner was she.  
 And therin like a false heretick thou lvest.  
 For she is a holy virgin, & ever shal bee.  
 "Pulchra es, amica mea, & macula non est in te."  
 This text Christ seid by her, as in scripture is told.  
 Wherefore it is pity, thou shouldest dy for cold.

3.

The holy & blessed salutation angelical,  
 Sent down from the high throne of the Trinitie,  
 Thou wouldest not have called a prayer at all.  
 Yet a prayer it is, & ever wil bee,  
 In the despite both of the devil & thee.  
 For to babble soch things thou wast too bold.  
 Wherefore it were pity thou shouldest dy for cold.

4.

The saulys that in the paines of purgatory be,  
 To release them furth thus didst thou sey,  
 For them we shold not do soch charitie,  
 Ne ask no boon at al, for them to prey.  
 Which opynions wer good for thee to renay,  
 Lest Almighty God sey, as he shold,  
 Let not this heretick soch errors hold.

## 5.

Also devout pilgrimage, which good men have sought,  
 For stocks & stones thou reputest them to be.  
 Yet God for them many myracles hath wrought,  
 As by exemple daylie we see.

I know they be images, as wel as ye.

Pictures made devotion to uphold,  
 Therefore it wer pity that down they shold.

## 6.

Doctor Folelatus ordeyned Prædicatorum.

A meter name for thee ther cannot be,

In as moch as thou art Fons hæreticorum.

But the clout must hange with thee in show perdie,

Or els your scapuler wold hang beneth your knee.

So it is a seying of young & old,

That pity it were thou sholdest be so uphold.

## 7.

I mervayl of you, that be minysters in towne,

What honour thereby you intend to wyn,

The wrong to uphold, & the right to ley down.

It were meter for some of you to turn a shepes skin,

To se that ther wer no maggots therin ;

Then iu soch matiers to be so bold.

Take hede at last you be not al controld.

## 8.

It is no mervayl though some be so madd,

To take the wronge, & ryght regardeth lest.

Wher ther be so many soch fantasie have had.

For "quod natura dedit nemo tollere potest."

Yet forsake thy warkes, & lyve not leke a beast.

For yf "Pater sequitur suas partes" in mold,

Then were it not pity thou shouldest be uphold ?

## 9.

What feyth is grounded in any of them al,

That so lyghtly wyl be turned out of the ryght way,

Forsaking swete hony, & tasting byttre gall :

As ther grete sire & heretick hath lerned them, I say ?

Who by hys acts & theires, apperyth every day.

For Gods love, them nother mayntayn, ne uphold,

Lest at length ye dy, afore that you be old.

## 10.

Go, little treatise, voyd of all eloquence,

I prey to God, that thou mey comme to lyght ;

Though thou be endyted for lack of intelligence,

Yet is thy intent to uphold the ryght,

And al hereticks to confound, yf thou myght.

Whom I prey Jesu Christ them to amende,

Or els short lyfe & evel dethe them sende.

11.

p. 132.

L for Lollard standes in thys place.

A for Error of grete iniquitie.

T for a Traytour to God, lackyng grace.

I for Ignoraunce of the true Trinitie.

M for Maynteyner of those that nought be.

E for Eretick, as lerned men seyth.

R for Rebeller agaynst Christs feyth.

*An answer to this sonnet.*

HE was a lamb, & thou a wolf shalt prove.  
 The blessed virgin he did not abuse:  
 But stocks & stones he preached to remove,  
 And pilgrimages, which dyd men abuse.  
 Idolatry he wold al shold refuse,  
 And cleave unto Gods word, it to uphold,  
 Which thou woldest hyde with face of brass ful bold.

## NUMBER XLV.

*A popish discourse of antichrist.*

YEE, that are willing to know of antichrist, shal know first, why is so called: therfore, that is to say, because in al things he is contrary to Christ, and shal do things contrary to Christ. Christ cometh humble, he cometh proud. Christ cometh to raise up the humble, & to justify sinners: he contrarily shal cast down the humble, magnify sinners, exalt the wicked, & shal alwayes teach vices, which are contrary to vertues: & the evangelic law shal he bring to nought, & shal renew & bring again into the world the doctrin of the devil, seking vain glory, & shal name himself the omnipotent God.

This antichrist therfore hath many ministers of his malignity; of whom many have gone before in the world, as Antiochus, Nero, & Domitian were. We also have known many antichrists to be in our time. For whosoever he be, whethere he be a layman, or a canonist, or a monk, that liveth against justice, or impugmeth the glory of his order, & blasphemeth



that which is good, he is an antichsist, a minister of Sathan.

But now let us se of the beginning of antichrist. That truly which I say, I faigne it not, neyther do I invent it of mine proper sense, but by diligent reading of the books, I find al these things written. For as our authors say, antichrist shalbe born of the Jewes; of the tribe of Dan; according to the prophet, saying, "Dan shal be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path." Gen. 49. For like as a serpent shal he sit in the way, & be in the path, that he may stryke them that walk in the path of justice, & slay them with the poison of his malice. He shal be born by the copulation of a father & mother, as other men: not, as some say, of alone virgin. But notwithstanding he shal be conceyved wholly in synne, engendred in sinne, & born in sinne. In the very beginning of his conception, the devil also shal enter into the womb of his mother, & shal be norished & defended in his mothers belly by the power of the devil, & the power of the devil shal be alwayes with him. And like as the Holy Ghost came into the mother of our Lord, & shadowed her with his vertue, & filled her with godlines, that she might receave of the Holy Ghost, that it which should be born should be divine & holy: So also the devil shal come into the mother of antichrist, & shal fill her wholly, compass her round about, hold her wholly & altogether, both inwardly p. 123. & outwardly, shal possess her; that she may conceyve by a man (the devil working) & that it which shal be born, may be altogether wicked & perditionous. Wherupon he is called, both the *son of sinne* & the *son of perdition*, because as much as he may, he shal destroy al humane kind, & he himself at the last shal be destroyed.

Behold! ye have heard, how he must be born: hear also the place, where he must be born. For like as our Lord & Redeemer did foresee for himself Bethlehem, that there for us he might take humanitie,

& vouchsafe to be born ; so the devil knoweth a fit place for that man of perdition, which is called antichrist, from whom the root of al mischief shal spring, that is to say, the city of Babylon. For in this city, which sometime was the most renowned & glorious city of the Gentiles, & chief of the kingdom of the Persians, shal antichrist be born ; & in the cities Bethsaida & Corozaim, must he be brought up & be conversaunt. Which cities the Lord in the evangelist curseth, saying, “ Wo unto thee, Bethsaida : wo unto you, Chorozaïm.”

Antichrist shal have wise men, witches, soothsayers, inchanters, who (the devil inspiring them) shal nourish & teach him in al iniquitie, falsehood, & wicked art. And maligne spirits shal be his captaynes & fellows always, & unseparated companions. Afterwards coming to Jerusalem, al such Christians as wil not convert unto him, shal he sley by divers torments, & place his seat in the holy temple. He shal restore also the holy temple, which Salomon builded unto God, in his state, & shal falsely say himself to be the son of God. But first he shal convert kings & princes unto him ; & afterward, through them, the rest of the people. First, he shal destroy the places by the which our Lord Christ walked : & afterward he shal send his messengers & preachers throughout al the world. His preaching truly & power shal reach from sea to sea, from the east even unto the west, from the north even unto the south ; & shal do also many signes, great, mer-vaylous, & not heard of : that is to say, trees sodenly to flourish & wither, the sea to be troubled, & sodenly to be caulmed, natures to be chaunged into divers formes, the ayr to be moved with winds, & many other kind of motions, & other innumerable & mer-vaylous, the dead to be rayseed in the sight of men : so that yf it may be, the very elect shal be brought into error. For when they shal se such great & like signes, they also, which are the most heavenly & perfect of God, shal doubt whether he be Christ,

that shal come in the end of the world, according to the scriptures, or no. Al these miracles truly by al means shall be false, through devilish enchantments. But unto sinners & unbelieving they shal seem to be true.

He shal stir up persecution under al the heaven, upon Christians & al elect. He shal set himself agaynst the faithful three wayes: that is, by terror, gifts & miracles. He shal give unto you, beleving in him, abundance of gold & silver. Those truly whom he cannot deceyve by gifts, he shal overcome by terror: & whom he cannot overcome by terror, he shal assay to seduce by signes & miracles. But those whom by signes he cannot allure, in the sight of al men shal he slay with most miserable death. Then shal there be such tribulation, as was not since the time that nations began, even unto that time. Then they which are in the field shal flee into the hills, & whoso is upon the bed shal not descend into the house, that they may take any thing out of it. Then every Christian, which shal be found, eyther he shal deny God, or els by the sward, or by the fire of the fornace, or els by serpents, or els by beasts, or els by some such like kind of torment, shal he commaund to be slayne, yf they continue in their fayth.

p. 124.

This tribulation so terrible & to be feared, shal continue altogether three yeare & an half. Then shal the dayes be shortned for the elect sake. For except he had shortned those dayes, no flesh should be saved.

The time truly, when antichrist shal come, or when the day of judgment shal appear, Paul the apostle, in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, saying, "We beseke you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesu Christ," in the same place sheweth it manifest, where he sayth, "For except the departing come first, & the man of sin be reveled, the son of perdition," &c. For we know, because that after the kingdom of the Grekes, or also after the kingdom

<sup>2</sup>Thess. II.

of the Persians, out of which eyther of them hath for their time shined with great glory, & florished in most great power ; at the last also, after other kingdoms, the kingdom of the Romans began ; which was strongest of al the former kingdomes ; & had al the kingdomes of the earth under its dominion, & al nations of the people were subject to the Romans, & served them under tribute. Afterward, therefore, sayth the apostle Paul, that antichrist “ shal not come into the world, except the departing come first : ” that is to say, except al kingdomes, which were first subdued, shal depart from the Roman empire. But this time cometh not yet ; because we must se the Roman empire for the most part destroyed. Yet, notwithstanding, so long as the kings of French men shal endure, who shal hold the Roman empire, the Roman empire shal not utterly perish ; because it shal stand in their kings. For certain of our doctours say, that one of the kings of the French men shal wholly hold the Roman empire ; which king shal be in the last time ; & he shal be the greatest and last of al kings ; who after he hath luckily governed his kingdom, at the last shal come to Jerusalem, & lay down his scepter & crown in the mount Olyvet. This shal be the end & consummation of the empire of the Romans & al christians. And then by & by, according to the aforesaid sentence of the apostle Paul, they say, antichrist shal come.

And then truly shal the *man of sin be revealed*, that is to say, antichrist ; who, although he be a man, notwithstanding shal be the welspring of al sin, & *son of perdition*. This is the son of the devil, because in al things he shal do his wil. Because the plenitude of al devilish power, & al wicked disposition, shal corporally dwel in him. In whom al the treasures of maliciousnes & iniquity shal be hidden. Who *doth repugn*, that is to say, is contrary to Christ, & al his members ; & *is exalted*, that is to say, set up into pryde, *above al thing that is called*



*God*; that is, above the gods of the gentiles, Apollo, Jupiter, Mercury, whom the pagans esteemed to be gods. Antichrist is extolled above al these gods, because he shal make himself greater & stronger than they al. And not only above them, but also *above al that is worshipped*; that is, above the Holy Trinity, which now is only to be worshipped & adored of every creature. He shal so extol himself, that he may "sit in the temple of God, shewing himself as he were God." For as we have afore said, being born in the city of Babylon, coming to Jerusalem, he shal circumcide himself, saying, I am Christ, which is promised you; who come for your salvation, that you, who are dispersed, I may gather together, & defend you. p. 125.

Then shal al the Jews flee unto him, thinking to receyve God, but they shal receyve the devil. Antichrist also shal sit in the temple of God, that is, in the holy temple, desiring al Christians to be martyrs, he shal be elevated & magnified, because the devil, the head of al mischief, shal be in him; who is king over al the sonns of pride. Antichrist shal sodenly & unadvisedly come, & deceyve & destroy al mankind through his error.

Afore his beginning, two prophets shall be sent into the world; that is, Enoch & Helias: who by the divine wepons of God shal defend the faythful, & instruct them against wicked antichrist, & shal comfort & set forward the elect unto war, teaching & preaching three years & an half. So many as can be found at that tyme of the children of Israel, shal these two great prophets and doctours convert unto the fayth, & shal restore them from the oppression of so great trouble, being separated from the elect. Then shal it be fulfilled that the scripture sayth, "If the number of the children of Israel shal be as the sand of the sea, those that are left shall be saved." But after they shal have preached three yeares & an half, by & by the persecutions of antichrist shal begin to wax hot. And antichrist shal first take

up his wepons agaynst them, & shal slay them, as it is said in the Apocalyps. “ And when, (sayth he) he shal end his testament, the beast shal come from the bottomles pit, & shal make war against them, & shal slay them.”

After that therefore these two shal be slayn, then pursuing the rest of the faythful, he shal eyther make glorious martyrs, or els cause many to forsake their christian religion. And whosoever shall beleve in him shal receave the sign of his seal in their foreheads.

But now seing we have told of his *beginning*, let us shew what *end* he shal have. This antichrist therefore the son of the devil, the most vile worker of al evil, when he hath (as is aforesaid) vexed the whole world three yeares & an half with great persecution, & shal have vexed al the people of God with divers punishments, after he shal have slayne Helias & Enoch, & crowning the rest remayning in the fayth with martyrdome, at the last shal the wrath of God come upon him, as blessed Paul hath written, saying, “ Whom the Lord shal slay with the breath of his mouth.” Finis.

## NUMBER XLVI.

*The general sentence, or curse ; used to be read to the people four times in the year. Taken out of the Festival, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1532.*

The Festival.

GOOD men & women, I do you to understande, that we that have the cure of your souls ben commaunded of our ordinaryes, & by the constitucyons & the lawe of holy chyrche, to shew to you foure tymes in the yere, in eche quarter of the yere ones, whan the people is most plenary in holy chyrche, the articles of the sentence of cursynge. So that none for our defeaute, neyther man nor woman, fall therin. And if ony be fallen therin, that he may thurgh the help of Almighty God, & al holy churche, with

shryfte & penaunce makynge good for his synne, ryse up & hym amende. Wherefore I do you to understande, that cursynge is suche vengeance takynge, that it departeth a man from the blysse of heven, from howsel, shryfte, & al the sacramentes of holy churche, & betake hym to the devyll, & to the paines of hell, the which shal endure perpetually without ende; but yf he have grace of our Lord hym to amende. But therfore se that no man or woman say, that I curse them, for it longeth not to me, but for to shewe the poyntes, & the artycles of the sentence of cursing. For I do you wel to wyte, that whoso doth agaynst ony of these poynts, that I shal shew you, he is accursed in the dede doynge, of the pope, Archebyssshop, bysshope, & of al holy chyrche: & that God Almighty gyve you grace for to kepe you out of cursynge, lysten & heare, & I shal, through the help of God Father Almighty, to you than tel & shew.

By the auctorite of God, the Son, & the Holy Goost, & his glorious mother & mayden, our lady Saynt Marye: & the blessed apostles, Peter & Poule, & al the apostles, martyrs, confessours, & virgyns, & al the halowes of God, I denounce & shew for accursed, al those that the fraunchyse of holy chyrche break or dystrouble, or are agaynst the state of holy chyrche, or therto assent with dede or counseyle. And also al those, that deprive holy chyrche of ony right to make of holy chyrche ony laye fee, that is halowed or sanctified. And also al those that with holde the rightes of holy chyrche, that is to say, offerynges, tithes, rents, or fredoms of holy chyrche, let or dystrouble, or breake: that is to saye, yf ony man flee to chyrche, or chyrche-yard, whoso hym outdrawe, & al those that therto procure, or assent. And al those that purchaseth lettres of ony lords courte, wherefore lettyne is made in chrysten courte, that process of right may not be determyned or ended. And al those that the peace of the land dystrouble. And al those that blode

draw of man or woman in violence, or in vylany make to be drawen, in chyrche or in chyrcheyarde, wherfore the chyrche or the chyrcheyard is interdyted or suspended. And al those that be agaynst the ryght of our soverayne lord the kynge. And al those that warr sustayne agaynst the king wrongfully. And al  
p. 127. those that are commune robbers, revers, or mansleers, but it be in themself defendynge. And al those that be agaynst the great charter of the kynge, that is confermed of the courte of Rome. And al those that false wytnes beare wrongfully: namely, in cause of matrymony, in what courte soever it be, or out of courte. And al those that false wytnes bring forth in ryght of matrymony, for to distrouble man or woman. Or for to disheryte any man of lands or tenements, or any other catell. And al false advocates, that for mede put forth any false excepcyons, or quarells, through the which the ryght of matrymony is foredone, or any other maner of ryght instede of judgment. And al those that for mede or favour, malicyously man or woman bryngeth out of theyr good fame into wycked; or make them for to lese theyr worldly goods or honour, or them put wrongfully to their purgacyon, of the which was no fame ne renowne knowne before that tyme. And also al those that malicyously, & through cawtel or gyle, distrouble, letteth, or gaynsayeth the ryght presentment of our mother holy churche mylytaunt here in erth, thereas the very patrone shold be present; & al that therto procure with word or dede, or with false conquest, or with other power. And al those that malicyously despyse the commaundement of the kynge, or take a cursed man from the tyme that he hath layen in cursyng xl dayes, & wil seke for no remedy. And al those that prysoners distrouble with false judgement, or false enquest, & al those that theyr delyveraunce purchase agaynst the ryght of holy chyrche. And al those that take mede for to distrouble peace, there love sholde be, & charite, or stryfe maynteyne with wordes or dedes, or tyl



they have yelded agayne theyr mede, that they toke of them, they may never be assoyled. And al those that hold houses, manors, graunges of parsones, vycaryes, or of any other man of holy chyrche agaynst theyr wyl. And al those that ony maner of movable good, or unmovable, away bear with strength, or wrongfully away draw or waste: of the which cursyng they may not be assoyled, tyl they have made satisfaccyon unto whom the wrong is done. And al those that ony maner of goods with vyolence or malice beare out of holy chyrche stedde or abbaye, or hous of relygyon, which that therin is layd or done for warandyse or socoure, or for to be kepte: & al those which that therto procure or assent. And al those that them mayntayne or sustayne. And al those that have layd hand on preest or clerke with malyce, but it be by hymself defendyng. And al those that gyve counseyle to Sarasins, or help them agaynst chrystendome. And al those that theyr chyldren wrongfully father wytyngly, or theyr chyldren wyten ony other man with malyce. And al those that vary or sleepe theyr generatyons, or theyr children destroy with drynkes, or with ony other craft. And al those that make false mony, or therto be assentyng. And al those that good mony clyppe or shere, them to advauntage to deceyve ony man with. And al those that false the popes bull, or counterfayte the kynges seale. And al those that bye or sell with false measures, or false weyghts: that is to say, to bye with one, & to sell with another. And al those that false the kynges standarde themself wytyng. And al those that ony testament distrouble, or therto procure with word or with dede, wherfore the deedes wil is not fulfylled. And al those that forswere them upon the holy dome, wylling & wytynge for mede, or for hate, for to do ony man or woman to leyse theyr worldly goods or honour. And al robbers or revers, openly or pryvely, by day or by night, or ony mannes good stele, wherfore they were worthy for to have judgment. And al those that withholde ony mannes good, that

p. 128.

have ben spyred thryse in holy chyrche themselfe wyttynge. And al those that dystrouble the peace of holy chyrche, or of the land, & al the kynges felons. And al those that them mayntayn. And al false conspiratours, & al false forswerers in assyses, or in any other courte. And al those that ony false playnts put forth agaynst the fraunchyse of holy chyrche, or of the kyng, or of the realme. And al those offrynges that are offred in holy chyrche, or in chyrche yard or chapel, or in oratory, or in any other stede within the provynce of Caunterbury, withholden or put away in any other place agaynst the wyl of the parson or vycare, or theyr attourney in the parysshe, that it is offred in. And al those that theyr goodes away gyue for drede of deth, in fraud of holy chyrche, or to forbear theyr dettes payenge. And al those that suche gyfts take, or therto helpe or counseyle. And al those that let prelates or ordynaries for to holde consistory sessyon, or chapytres, for to enquire of synnes, & of excesse, in good amendement of mannes soule. And al wythes, & al that on them byleve. And al heretykes that byleve not in the sacrament of the awter, that is Goddes own body in flesshe & blode in fourme of breed, & other sacraments, that toucheth helpe of mannes soule. And al juglers & usurers: that is to say, that yf any man or woman lend theyr catell to man or woman for any avauntage to take by covenant more or lesse, than theyr own, & yf there be ony suche founde in towne or cite, the cite or the towne sholde be interdyted by the old lawe, & neyther do theyr masse, nor sacrament mynystred, tyl he were out therof. And al that withhold tythes, or withdraw theyr tithes wytyngly or malyciously, to the harne of holy chyrche; or tythes let to be gyven of al the goodes which they be commaunded, & ordeyned to be gyven by the law of holy chyrche, that is to say, of al fruytes of yerds, cornes, herbes, the ware, fruyes of trees, of al maner of beestes, that are newynge, of wol, lambe & chese, in tyme of the yere of swannes,

gese, douves, duckes, of bees, hony, wax, of hey, as often as it neweth: of flax, of hemp, of wyndmylles, or al maner of mylles, of al maner of marchaundyse of chaffryng men & of men of craft. And al those that malyciously or wyttyngly ony of these thynges, or ony other withhold, the which ought to be gyven to holy chyrche by Goddes law, to the harme of holy chyrche, & al that therto procure in word or in dede.

## MODUS FULMINANDI SENTENTIAM.

Prelatus alba indutus cum ceteris sacerdotibus in ecclesia existentibus, cruce erecta, candelis accensis, stans in pulpito, pronunciet verba que sequuntur.

Ex auctoritate Dei patris omnipotentis & beate Marie virginis & omnium sanctorum, excommunicamus, anathematizamus, & diabolo commendamus, omnes supra dictos malefactores, ut excommunicati sint, anathematizati, & diabolo commendati: maledicti sint in villis, in campis, in vijs, in semitis, in domibus, extra domos, & in omnibus alijs locis, stando, sedendo, jacendo, surgendo, ambulando, currendo, vigilando, dormiendo, comedendo, bibendo, & aliud opus faciendo, & illos a luminibus & omnibus bonis ecclesie sequestramus, & diabolo damnamus, & in penis inferni animas eorum extinguamus, sicut extinguitur ista candela; nisi resipiscant & ad satisfactionem veniant, p. 129.

Finite sententia, extinguat lumen ad terrorem, pulsantibus campanis.

## NUMBER XLVII.

*A letter of one Friar Laurence, concerning the divorce; and the favor of some friars of Greenwich to Q. Katharines cause. Written to Crumwel.*

JHESUS.

REHTT worthy honnor & dygnyte for yowr hy <sup>MSS.</sup> D. G. II. wysdum & pollysy, grace & peace yn adversyte, for <sup>Eq.</sup>

an humbyl & meke salutasyon. My lorde, as I am ynformyd, by sartin of our brethryne, Fathar Robbynsonne a pon Sunday last past dyd offar hymne selfe to contende yn dysputasyone with that wyschypful abbote, whytch that day dyd pretch at Powls crose. Wher apon ys rysen a commyn brute, that the frers of Grenwytych, yf they myhte be suffarde to tell the trothe, wolde pute to sylence al theyme whytche hath or shalle pretche in owre sufferande the kinges caws, & allso prove all thynges fals that they have pretchyde. Mor ovar the forsayd father Robbynson duth fully purpose to declar thys matter of matrimony betwyxte owr moste gracyus sufferande & the quene, &, as mytche os in hym ys, bothe with hys wyte & lernynge to justyfy the quenens parte. Thys ys apoyntyde to be done apon Sunday nexte cummynge: and that wheros he may have the moste solemne awdyence. Wherefore excepte that yowr lordschype doth fynde sum conveyent remydy by your hy pollysy, "Error posterior erit priore pejor:" the viccar of our covente ys of secrete counselle yn all thys bysynes. He was with fathar Robbynson at Powlse crose. He dyd brynge theys tydynges firste to our covente. He ys for the moste parte contynually with owr fathars at Lambethe, or els abroad amonkste seculars; & by hys desaytful flatteryng, he dothe mytche harme bothe amonkste owr brethryne, & also amonkste seculars. He dothe aprove yt to be well done, that owr wardeyn dyd reprove the pretcher yn the pulpete withyn owr covent, bothe os consarnynge the tyme, & also the maner of hys spekyng: in so mytche, that he hath mayde reporte to sartayn brethryne of the covent of Rytchmonte, that yt was not owr wardeyne, whytche dyd speke, but yt was the Holy Goste, that dyd speke yn hymne. Byt to yowre lordschype he was of a contrary opynyon. Thus may yowr lordschype manyfestly se & parsave howe full he ys of crafte & dyssymulasyone. He also made reporte, that owr forsayd fathers scholde schortely prevale aganste yowr lordschype, & also aganste all



themme, whitche dothe favowr owr soverandes cawse. What he hath reportyd of me, I commyte my cawse to Gode: byt I have asuryde confydence yn owr gracyous sufferand, that he wyll nevar be so unkynd to me os owr forsayd vyccare hath reportyd hyme. For yf he scholld, I ware undone for evar.

If yt ware the gracyus plesure of owr most nobyll sufferand to send for me, then wolld I disclose to hyme sartane thynges, whitche I dare note exprese, nethar by messynger, nor by wrytynge. Whitche thynges I trust scholld be bothe to the yncrese of hys honnor, & also to the forthrance of his purpose. Wherfor yf yt schal be hys gracyous pleysur to send for me, I humbly besytch your lordschype to moschon hys grace, that he doth send also for brother Lyste. Whitch to his lytyll powar dothe faythfully favoure our sufferande & allso hys cawse; whitche is allso dysyrus of your prosperyte. No mor to your lordschype at thys tyme: byt Jhesu presarve yowe yn this presente lyfe by hys grace; whitche ended, he grawnte to yow glory eternalle. Amen.

Yowres yn alle thynges to hys lytyll powar,

JOHN LAWRENCE.

## NUMBER XLVIII.

*Sir Thomas More to Secretary Cromwel; excusing his communication with, & letter writ to, the Nun of Kent, &c.*

RIGHT worshipful, after my most harty recommendations: it may please you to understand, that I have perceived by the relation of my son Rooper (for which I beseech Almighty God reward you) your most charitable labour taken for me towards the kinges gracious highnes, in the procuring at his most gracious hands the relief & comfort of this woful heaves, in which myne heart standeth, neither for the loss of goods, lands, or liberty, nor for any respect either of this kind of honesty, that standeth in the

Cleopatra,  
E.6. p.149.

opinion of people, & worldly reputation. Al which maner things, I thank our Lord, I so little esteem for any affection therin toward my self, that I wil wel be content to jubarde, lese, & forgoe them al, & my life therewith, without a further respite, then even this same present day, either for the plesure of God, or of my prince. But surely, good Mayster Cromwel, as I by mouth declared unto you some part (for al I neither then sayd, nor now write) it thorowly pierceth my poor hart, that the kings highnes, (whose gracious favor towards me, far above al the things of this world, I have ever more desired, & wherof, both for the conscience of mine awne true faith & devotion towards him, & for the manifold benefits of his high goodnes continually bestowed upon me, I thought my self alway sure) should conceive any such mind or opinion of me, as to think, that in my communication either with the nun or with the frerys, or in my letter written unto the nun, I had any other maner mind, than that might wel stand with the duty of a tender loving subject toward his naturall prince; or that his g. should reckon in me any maner of obstinate hart against his plesure in any thing, that ever I said, or did, concerning his great matter of his mariage, or concerning the primatie of the pope. Nor would I wish other thing in this world more liefte, then that his h. in these things al three, as perfectly knew my dealing, & as thorowly saw my mind, as I do my self, or as God doth himself; whose sight pierceth deeper into my hart, then mine awne.

p. 131.

The nun.

For, Sir, as for the first matter, that is to wit, my letter or communication with the *nun* (the whole discourse wherof in my former letter I have as plainly declared unto you, as I possibly can) so pray I God to withdraw that scruple & doubt of my good mind out of the kings noble brest. And none otherwise, but as I not only thought none harme, but also purposed good. And in that thing most in which, as I perceive, his g. conceiveth most grief & suspicion. That is to wit, in my letter which I wrote unto her.

And therefore, Sir, sith I have by my writing declared the troth of my dede, & am ready by mine oath to declare the troth of mine intent, I can devise no further thing by me to be done in that matter, but only beseech Almighty God to put into the kings gracious mind, that as God knoweth the thing is indeed, so his noble g. may take it.

As touching the second point, concerning his gs. *great matter* of his marriage, to the intent that you may se cause with the better conscience to make suite unto his h. for me, I shal as plainly declare you my demeanor in that matter, as I have already declared you in the other. For more plainly can I not.

The kings  
great mat-  
ter of mar-  
riage.

Sir, upon a time, at my coming beyond sea, where I had been in the kings busines, I repaired, as my duty was, unto the kings g. being at that time at Hampton Court. At which time suddenly his h. walking in the gallery, brake with me of his great matter; & shewed me, that it was now perceived his mariage was not only against the positive laws of the church, & the written law of God; but also in such wise against the law of nature, that it could in no wise by the church be dispensable. Now so was it, that before my going over the sea, I had heard certain things moved against the bul of the dispensation, concerning the words of the law Levitical, & the law Deuteronomycal, to prove the prohibition to be *jure divino*. But yet perceived I not at that time, but that the greater hope of the matter stood in certain faults, that were founden in the bul: wherby the bul should by the law be not sufficient. And such comforte there was in that point, as far as I perceived a good season, that the counsil on the other part were fain to bring forth a brief, by which they pretended those debates to be supplied. The truth of which brief was by the kings council suspected: and mych diligence was there after don for the trial of that point. Wherin what was finally founden, either I never knew, or ellys I not remember. But I reherse you this to the intent you shal know, that the first

p. 132.

time that ever I heard that point moved, that it should be in such high degree against the law of nature, was the time in which, as I began to tell you, the k. g. shewed it me himself, & layd the Bible open before me, & shewed me the words, that moved his h. & divers other erudite persons so to think, & asked me ferther what my self thought thereon.

At which time, not presuming to look that his h. should any thing take that point for the more proved or improved for my poor mind in so great a matter, I shewed nevertheless, as my duty was, at his commandment, what thing I thought upon the words which I there read. Wherupon his h. accepting benignely my suddain unadvised answer, commanded me to commune ferther with Mr. Fox, now his graces almoner, & to read a book with him, that then was making for that matter. After which book read, & my poor opinion eftsones declared unto his h. his h. like a prudent, & a virtuous prince, assembled at another time, at Hampton Court, a good nombre of very wel learned men : at which time, as far as ever I heard, there were (as was in so great a matter most likely to be) divers opinions among them. Howbeit I never heard, but that they agreed at that time upon a certain form, in which the book should be made. Which book was afterward at York-place, in my l. cardinals chamber, read in the presence of divers bps. & many learned men. And they al thought, that there appeared in the book good & reasonable causes, that might move the k. h. being so virtuous a prince, to conceive in his mind a scruple against his mariage. Which while he could not otherwise avoyd, he did wel & virtuously, for the acquiescing of his conscience, to sue, & procure to have his doubt decided by judgment of the church.

After this the suite began, & the legats sat upon the matter. During al which time I never meddled therin, nor was a man meet to do : for the matter was in hand by an ordinary process of the spiritual law; wherof I could little skill. And yet while the



legates were sitting upon the matter, it pleased the kings h. to send me in the company of my l. of London, now of Durham, in ambassiate about the peace, that, at our being there, was concluded at Cameray, between his h. & the emperor, & the French king. And after my coming home, his h. of his only goodnes, as far unworthy as I was therto, made me, as you wel know, his chancellor of his realm. Soon after which time his g. moved me again yet eftsones, to look & consider his great matter, & wel & indifferently to ponder such things as I should find therin. And if it so were, that therupon it should happe me to se such things as should persuade me to that part, he would gladly use me among others of his counsellors in that matter. And nevertheles he graciously declared unto me, that he would in no wise, that I should other thing do or say therin, than that I should perceive mine awne conscience should serve me: and that I should first look unto God, & after God unto him. Which most gracious words was the first lesson also, that ever his g. gave me at my first coming into his noble service.

This motion was to me very comfortable, & much I longed, beside any thing that my self either had seen, or by further search should hap to find for the one part or the tother, yet especially to have some conference in the matter with some such of his graces learned council, as most for his part had laboured & most hand found in the matter. Wherupon his h. assigned unto me the now most reverend fathers, the Archbps. of Canterbury & York, with Master Dr. Fox, now his g's. almoner, & Master Dr. Nicolas, the Italian frere. Wherupon I not only sought & read, & as far forth as my poor wit & learning served me, wel weighed & considered every such thing, as I could find my self, or read in any other mannys labour that I could get, which any thing had written therin: but had also diligent conference with his g's. counsellors aforesaid. Whose honors & worships I nothing mistrust in this point, but that they both have

p. 133.

& wil report unto his h. that they never found obstinate manner nor fashion in me, but a mind as toward & as conformable, as reason could in a matter disputable require. Wherupon the kings h. being further advertised, both by them & my self, of my poor opinion in the matter (wherin to have been able & meet to do him service, I would as I then shewed his h. have been more glad, than of al such worldly commodities, as I either then had, or ever shal come to) his h. graciously taking *in gre* my good mind in that behalf, used of his blessed disposition, in the prosecuting of his great matter, only those, of whom his g. had good number, whose consciences his g. perceived wel & fully persuaded upon that part: & as wel my self, as any other, to whom his h. thought the thing to seem otherwise, he used in his other business. Abiding of his abundant goodnes nevertheless gracious lord unto me: nor never was willing to put any man in ruffle or trouble of his conscience.

After this did I nothing more therin; nor never any word wrot I therin, to the impairing of his g's. part, neither before nor after, nor any man ellys by my procurement: but settling my mind in quiet to serve his g. in other things, I would not so much as look, nor wittingly let ly by me, any book of the other part. Albeit that I gladly read afterwards divers books that were made on his part yet. Nor never would I read the book that Master Abel made on the other side; nor other books, which were, as I heard say, made in Latin beyond the sea, nor ever give ear to the popes proceedings in the matter.

Moreover, wheras I had founden in my study a book that I had before borrowed of my l. of Bath, which book he had made of the matter at such time as the legates sat here therupon, which book had been by me negligently cast aside, & that I shewed him I would send him home his book again: he told me, that in good faith he had long time before discharged his mind of that matter, & having forgotten that copy to remain in my hand, had burned his awne

copy that he had therof at home: and because he no more minded to meddle in the matter, he desired me to burn the same book too; and upon my faith so did I.

Besides this, divers other wayes have I so used my self, that if I rehearsed them al, it would wel appear, that I never have had against his g's. mariage any maner demeanor, wherby his h. might have any maner cause, or occasion of displeasure against me. For likewise as I am not he, which either can, or whom it could become, to take upon him the determination or decision of such a weighty matter; nor boldly to affirm this thing or that therin, wherof divers points a great way pas my learning; so am I he, that among other his g's. faithful subjects, (his h. being in possession of his mariage, & this noble woman really anointed queen) neither murmur at it, nor dispute upon it, nor never did, nor wil. But without any other maner meddling of the matter among his other faithful subjects, faithfully pray to God for his g. & her both, long to live & wel, & their noble issue too, in such wise as may be to the plesure of God, honor & surety to themself, rest, peace, wealth, & profit, unto this noble realni.

p. 134.

As touching the third point, the *primatie* of the pope, I nothing meddle in the matter. Troth it is, that as I told you, when you desired me to shew you what I thought therin, I was my self some time not of the mind, that the primatie of that see should be begun by the institution of God, until that I read in the matter those things that the kings h. had written in his most famous book against the heretics of Martin Luther. At the first reading wherof I moved the k. h. either to leave out that point, or else to touch it more slenderly; for doubt of such things as after might hap to fal in question between his h. & some pope: as between princes & popes divers times have don. Wherunto his h. answered me, That he would in no wise any thing minish of that matter. Of which thing his h. shewed me a secret cause,

The primatie.



wherof I never had any thing heard before. But surely, after that I had read his g's. book therin, & so many other things as I have seen in that point by this continuance of these X years since & more, have founden in effect the substance of al the holy doctors, from S. Ignatius, disciple to S. John the Evangelist, unto our own dayes, both Latins & Greeks, so consonant, & agreing in that point, & the thing by general council so confirmed also, that, in good faith, I never neither read nor heard any thing of such effect on the other side, that ever could lead me to think, that my conscience were wel discharged, but rather in right great peril, if I should follow that other side, & deny the primatie to be provided by God. Which if we did, yet can I nothing, as I shewed you, perceive any commodity that ever could come by that denyal. For that primatie is at the leastwise instituted by the corps of christendome, & for a great urgent cause, in avoyding of schismes, & corroborate by continual succession more then the space of a thousand years at the least. For there are past almost a thousand years sith the time of holy S. Gregory.

And therefore, sith al christendom is one corps, I cannot perceive, how a member therof may, without the common assent of the body, depart from the common head. And then, if we may not lawfully leave it by our selves, I cannot perceive (but if the thing were a treating in a general council) what the question could avail, whether the primatie were instituted immediately by God, or ordained by his church? As for the general councils assembled lawfully, I never could perceive, but that, in the declaration of the truth, to be believed, & to be standen to, the authority therof ought to be taken for indubitable. Or else were there in nothing no certainty, but through christendom, upon every mans affectionate reason, al things might be brought, fro day to day, to continual ruffle & confusion. From which, by the general councils, the Spirit of God, assisting every such



council wel assembled, keepeth, & ever shal keep, the corps of the catholic church. And verily, sith the k. h. hath, as by the book of his honorable council appeareth, appealed to the general council from the pope (in which council I beseech our lord to send his g. comfortable speed) methinkith in my poor mind, it could be no furtherance there unto his g's. cause, if his h. should in his own realm before, either by laws-making, or books-putting forth, seem to derogate & deny, not only the primatie of the see apostolick, but also the authority of the general councils. Which I verily trust his h. intendeth not. For in the next general council it may wel happen, that this pope may be deposed, & another sustituted in his room, with whom the k. h. may be very wel content. p. 135.

For albeit that I have for mine own part such opinion of the popes primatie, as I have shewed you, yet never thought I the pope above the general council, nor never have, in any book of mine put forth among the kings subjects in our vulgar tongue, avaunced greatly the popes authority. For albeit that a man may peradventure somewhat find therein, that after the common maner of al christen realmes I speak of him as primate; yet never do I stick theron with reasoning & proving of that point. And of my book against the Masker I wrot not, I wot wel, five lynys, & yet of no mo, but only of S. Peter himself. From whose person many take not the primatie, even of those that graunt it none of his successors. And yet was that book made, printed, & put forth of very troth, before that any of the books of the council was either printed, or spoken of. But wheras I had written therof at length in my confutation before, & for the proof therof, had compiled together al that I could find therfore, at such time as I little looked that there should fal between the k. h. & the pope such a breach as is fallen since; when I, after that, saw the thing likely to draw such displeasure between them, I suppressed it utterly, & never put word therof into my book, but put out the remnant

without. Which thing wel declareth, that I never intended any thing to meddle in that matter against the kings gracious plesure, whatsoever mine own opinion were therin.

And thus have I, good Master Cromwel, long troubled your mastership with a long process of these matters, with which I neither durst, nor it could become me to encumber the kings noble grace. But I beseech you for our lords love, that you be not so weary of my most cumbrous suit, but that it may like you at that opportune time or times, as your wisdome may find, to help that his h. may, by your goodnes, be fully informed of my true faithful mind : & that in the matter of that wicked woman, there never was on my part any other mind than good : nor yet in any other thing else, never was there, nor never shal there be, any further fault founden in me, than that I cannot in every thing think the same way, that some other men of more wisdom & deeper learning, do. Nor can find in my hart otherwise to say, than as mine awn conscience giveth me : which condition hath never grown in any thing, that ever might touch his gracious plesure, of an obstinate mind, or misaffected appetite ; but of a timerous conscience, rising happily for lack of better proceding. And yet not without tender respect unto my most bounden duty towards his most noble grace. Whose only favour I  
 p. 136. so much esteem, that I nothing have of mine awne in al this world, except only my soul, but that I wil with better wil forgoe it, than abide of his h. one heavy displesant look.

And thus I make an end of my long tedious process, beseeching the blessed Trinity, for the great goodnes ye shew me, & the great comfort ye do me, both bodily & ghostly to prosper you, & in heaven to reward you. At Chelcith, the vth day of March, by

Your deeply bounden

THO. MORE, Kt.

## NUMBER XLIX.

*Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Secretary Crumwel;  
in answer to orders sent him for preaching the  
kings supremacy.*

HONORABLE Sir, I certify your good mastership, Cleopatra,  
E. 6.  
that I have this day received the kings most honor-  
able letters, sent unto me from you by my servant:  
& rejoyce not a little, that it hath pleased his highnes  
to write so earnestly unto his bishops in this so earnest  
a cause: thinking surely, that God hath used your  
wisdom to stir up the good prince hereunto. Wherof  
I highly thank that Almighty Lord. Praying you  
also to go on stil from one thing to another, as your  
wisdome, yea Gods very wisdom in you, exciteth &  
stirreth you, til the usurped power of that man of  
Rome be clean abolished & put out of the hearts of  
the kings subjects. And I shal with al my diligence  
apply my self to the accomplishment of this his so  
godly commandment, by Gods grace.

And forasmuch as I have taken my leave of the  
king & queen, & tary for nothing now but only for  
the instrument called *custodias temporalium*, I eft-  
soones beseech your mastership to have that in your re-  
membrance, when you shal next repair unto the court,  
together with a discharge for taking any oath of the  
residentiaries of Sarum: which surely they wil exact  
of me, unles I bring something, either from the king  
his highnes, or else from you, his chief cuncellor, for  
to stop their mouths.

And as for sealing new obligations, if it like you  
to command your servant to send me them to  
morrow by this bringer, I shal seal them & send them  
to you without any tarriance, by the grace of God.  
Who conserve you & prosper you in al godly purposes  
& enterprises. Mortelack, the iiij day of June.

Your own to cominand,

NIC. SHAXTON, Bishop of Sarum.

p. 137.

## NUMBER L.

*Robert, Bishop of Chichester, to Secretary Crumwel;  
upon the same argument.*

Cleopatra,  
E. 6.

AFTER my most hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesses shewed unto me in times past: pleaseth it you to be advertised, that upon Sunday, viz. the 13th day of this instant month of June, after such smal talent, as God hath lent me, I preached the word of God openly in my cathedral church of Chichester; & also published there the kings most dreadful commandment concerning (with other things) the uniting of the supreme head of the Church of England unto the imperial crown of this realm; & also the abolishing & secluding out of this realm the inormities & abuses of the bp. of Romes authority usurped within the same. And likewise have sent forth my suffragan to preach & publish most speedily the same in the populous townes within my dioces. And further have proceded, that by this day at the furthest, there is neither abbot prior, dean, archdeacon, provost, parson, vicar nor curate within my dioces, but they have commandment to publish the same in their churches every Sunday, & solemne feast accordingly. And, as much as in me is, I shal see & cause them to continue in doing of their duty in this behalf. Most heartily desiring you to move the k. highnes, that it may please his grace, considering my age & impotency, that the further doing of these premisses by other sufficient persons may be sufficient for my discharge in this behalf. And if it shal please you to particularly advertise me of the kings plesure herein, ye shal bind me to do you any plesure, that lyeth in my little power. And thus fare ye most heartily wel. From Selsey xxviii° June.

Your bounden orator,  
ROBT. CICEST.



## NUMBER LI.

*John, Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr. Crumwel; of the same matter.*

RIGHT worshipful master secretary, my duty remembred unto your good mastership, with my humble thanks for al your goodnes towards me, & in al my causes ever. Pleaseth it the same to understand, that I have, according as I am bounden, & as the king his grace commandment was by his letters, since the receipt of the same, set forth, & caused to be declared throughout my dioces, his title, dignity & style of Supreme Head in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of England, & shal so continue. And for as much as the last letter of declaration in English, which your mastership sent unto me last, must go into so many several places within my diocess, that al the clerks I have are not able to write them in long process of time, I have caused 2000 of the same to be put in print, for the speedy & good setting forward thereof: & have sent unto you a paper of the same. Beseeching you, I may have knowledg of your pleasure by this bearer my servant: whether it be your plesure I shal in this forme in print send forth the same or not. And your plesure known, it shal not be long in doing, God willing.

Cleopatra,  
E. 6.  
p. 261.

p. 138.

Over this I have in mean time set forth to divers parts in every shire within my diocess the same in writing, as many as al my clarks could in the mean season write, & are doing stil. Thus the Godhead preserve your good mastership. Written at Woburn, this xxv day Junij.

Your bedisman, & priest,

JOHN LINCOLN.

## NUMBER LII.

*Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Crumwel;  
concerning his preaching the kings supremacy.*

Cleopatra,  
E. 6.  
p. 248. b.

AND where now of late I have also received the kings most honorable letters, sent unto me by Sir Francis Bygot, Kt. containing the kings highnes commandment for setting forth of his title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, & the abolishment of the authority of the Bp. of Rome; I not only my self, before the receit of the same letters, had don my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused others to do the same. And so his grace was prayed for, ever since the proclamation of the act therupon made. And eftsones upon the receit of the kings said letter, I repaired to Duresm, & there preached my self again in great presence, as wel in setting forth the kings title, as in declaring the usurped authority of the Bp. of Rome, heretofore used in this realm. And so have done, & shal, from time to time accomplish the kings commandment in my diocess, God willing.

p. 139.

There were words in the said letter that sore grieved me; that the kings highnes should repute, that I should look for a new world, or mutation. If the kings h. knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am, those words had not been put in. For I have been as sore against such usurpations of the Bp. of Rome, as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme. And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore, as far as I might, when he flourished most, it is not likely. Surely I look for no mutation, nor new world, but one; which is the changing of this life transitory to the life eternal in the world to come. Which mutation, whensoever it shal happen, I beseech Almighty Jesus of his infinite mercy, that I may leave the kings h. in his most prosperous reign many years after my decease, to myche increase of his

honour, the wealth of his subjects, & the propagation of his most royal posterity. And thus Almighty Jesus preserve your good mastership to his plesure & yours. From Aukland the xxjth day of July.

Your masterships humble bedeman,

CUTHBERT DURESM.

### NUMBER LIII.

*The kings letter to the Earl of Sussex: to seize such as preached up the popes authority in England.*

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.

RIGHT trusty & right wel beloved cousin, we greet you wel. And where it is comen to our knowledg, that sundry persons, as wel religious as secular priests & curates in their parishes, & divers places within this our realm, do daily as much as in them is set forth, & extol the jurisdiction & authority of the Bp. of Rome, otherwise called *Pope*; sowing their seditious, pestilent & false doctrin: praying for him in the pulpit, & making him a god, to the great deceit, alluding & seducing of our subjects, bringing them into errors, seditions & evil opinions; more preferring the power, lawes & jurisdiction of the said Bp. of Rome, then the most holy lawes & precepts of Almighty God: we therfore, minding not only to procede for an unity & quietnes to be had, & continued, among our said subjects, but also greatly coveting & desiring them to be brought to a perfection & knowledg of the mere verity & truth; & no longer to be seduced, nor blinded with any such superstitious & false doctrin of any earthly usurper of Gods laws; wol therfore & command you, that where & whensoever ye shal apperceive, know or hear tel of any such seditious persons, that in such wise do

*Cleopatra,*  
E.6. p.213.

spread, teach & preach, or otherwise set forth, any such opinions & pernicious doctrine, to the exaltation of the power of the Bp. of Rome; bringing therby our subjects into error, grudge & murmuration; that ye indelayedly do apprehend & take them, or cause them to be apprehended & taken, & so committed to ward, there to remain without bayle or mainprize, until upon your advertisement therof unto us, or our counsell, ye shal know our further pleasure in that behalf. Yeven under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the 17th day of April.

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## NUMBER LIV.

*The kings letters to the justices of peace; to further the kings cause of the supremacy.*

BY THE KING.

HENRY R.

Cleopatra,  
E.6.p.214

TRUSTY & right wel beloved, we greet you wel. And wheras heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just & vertuous foundations, grounded upon the laws of Almighty God & holy scripture, & also by the deliberate advise, consultation, consent & agreement, as wel of the bps. & clergy, as by the nobles & commons temporal of this our realm assembled in our high court of parliament, & by authority of the same; the abuses of the Bp. of Rome his authority & jurisdiction, of long time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished & seclused; but also the same our nobles & commons, both of the clergy & temporalty, by another several act, & upon like foundation, for the public weal of this our realm, have united, knit & annexed to us, & the crown imperiall of this our realm, the title, dignity & stile of Supreme Head in Earth, immediatly under God, of the Church of England, as undoubtedly evermore we have been: which thing also the same bps. & clergy particularly, in their convocations, have wholly

Novemb.  
1554.



& intyrelly consented, recognized, ratified, confirmed & approved autentiquely in writing, both by their speciall oaths, profession & writing under their signes & seals ; so utterly renouncing al other oaths, obedience & jurisdiction, either of the said Bp. of Rome, or of any other potentate : we late you wit, that perpending & considering the charge & commission in this behalf given unto us by Almighty God, together with the great quietnes, rest & tranquillity, that hereby may ensue to our faithful subjects, both in their consciences, & otherwise to the plesure of Almighty God, in case the said bps. & clergy of this our realm should sincerely, truly & faithfully set forth, declare & preach unto our said subjects, the very true word of God, & without al maner colour, dissimulation & hypocrisy, manifest, publish & declare, the great & innumerable inormities & abuses, which the said Bp. of Rome, as wel in title & stile, as also in authority & jurisdiction, of long time, unlawfully & unjustly hath usurped upon us, our progenitors, & al other christian princes ; have not only addrest our letters general to al, & every the same bps. straitly charging & comanding them, not only in their proper persons, to declare, teach & preach unto the people the true, mere, & sincere word of God : & how the said title, stile & jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth unto us, our crown & dignity royal ; & to give like warning, monition & charge to al abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, schoolmasters, & al other ecclesiastical persons within their diocesses, to do the semblable in their churches every Sunday & solemn feast ; & also in their schooles : & to cause al maner prayers, orizons, rubricks & canons in mass-books, & al other books used in churches, wherein the said bp. is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicated, & razed out, in such wise, as the said Bp. of Rome, his name & memory for evermore (except to his contumely & reproach) may be extinct, suppress & obscured : but also to our justices of the peace,

p 141.

that they in every place, within the precinct of their commission, do make, & cause to be made, diligent search, wait & espyal, whether the said bps. & clergy do truly & sincerely, without any maner cloke or dissimulation, execute & accomplish their said charge, to them committed in this behalf: & to certify us & our council of such of them that should omit or leave undon any part of the premisses; or else in the execution therof, should coldly & fainedly use any maner, sinister addition, interpretation or cloke: as more plainly is expressed in our said letters:

WEE, considering the great good & furtherance that ye may do in these matters, in the parties about you, & especially at your being at sizes & sessions, in the declaration of the premisses, have thought it good, necessary & expedient, to write these our letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singular zeale & affection towards the glory of Almighty God, & of so faithful & loving hearts towards us, as ye wol, with all your wisdomes, diligences & labours accomplish al such things, as might be to the preferment & setting forth of Gods word, & the amplification, defence & maintenance of our said interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction & authority appertaining unto us, our dignity, prerogative, & crown imperial of this our realm; wol & desire you, & nevertheles straitly charge & command you, that laying apart al vain affections, respects, & carnal considerations, & setting before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right & dignity of your sovereign Lord, thus sounding to the inestimable unity & commodity, both of your selves, & al other our loving & faithful subjects, ye do not only make diligent search within the precincts of your commission & authority, whether the said bps. & clergy do truly & surely, as before, preach, teach & declare to the people the premisses according to their duties; but also at your said sitting in assizes & sessions ye do persuade, shew & declare unto the said people the very tenor, effect & purpose of the premisses in such

wise, as the said bishops & clergy may the better, not only do & execute the said duties, but that also the parents & rulers of families may declare, teach & inform their childer & servants in the specialties of the same, to the utter extirpation of the said Bishop's usurped authority, name, & jurisdiction for ever.

SHEWING also & declaring unto the people, at your said sessions, the treasons traitorously committed against us & our laws by the late Bp. of Rochester, & Sir Thomas More, Kt. Who therby, & by divers secret practices of their malicious mind against us, intended to seminate, engender, & breed, among our people & subjects, a most mischievous & seditious opinion, not only to their own confusion, but also of divers others, who lately have condignely suffered execution according to their demerits. And in such wise dilating the same, with persuasions to the same our people, as they may be the better riped, established & satisfied in the truth: and consequently, that al our faithful & true subjects may therby detest & ahhor, in their hearts & deeds, the most recreant (miscreant) & traiterous abuses & behaviors of the said malicious malefactors, as they be most worthy. And finding any default, negligence or dissimulation in any maner of person or persons, not doing his duty in this party, yee immediatly advertise us & our counsel of the default, maner & fashion of the same. Letting you wit, that considering the great moment, weight & importance of this matter, as wherupon dependeth the unity, rest & quietnes of this our realm, if ye should, contrary to your duties, & our expectation & trust, neglect, be slack or omit to do diligently your duty in the true performance & execution of our mind, plesure & commandment, as before, or would halt & stumble at any part or specialty of the same: be ye assured, that we, like a prince of justice, wol so punish & correct your default & negligence therin, as it shal be an example to al others, how contrary to their

allegiances, oaths & duties they do frustrate, deceive & disobey the just & lawful commandment of their sovereign lord, in such things, as by the true, hearty & faithful execution wherof they shal not only prefer the honor & glory of God, now set forth, the majesty & imperial dignity of their sovereign lord, but also import & bring an inestimable unity, concord, & tranquillity of the public & common state of this realin: wherunto both by the laws of God & nature, & man, they be utterly obliged & bounden. And therefore faile ye not most effectually, earnestly & entyrelly to se the premisses done & executed, upon pain of your allegiances, & as ye wol avoid our high indignation & displesure at your uttermost perils. Yeuen under our signet at our manor beside Westminster, the xxvth day of June.

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## NUMBER LV.

*Thomas Bedyl, to the kings visitors; when he sent them his emendations of a book for preaching & declaring the kings power.*

Cleopatra,  
E.6.p.256.

\* Dr. Fox,  
after Bp.  
of Here-  
ford.

IN my right harty wise I commend me to you. And where I have altered some things in the Treatise devised for preaching & setting forth of the kings title of Supreme Head, & of the extinction of the power & jurisdiction of the Bp. of Rome: wherin I have counselled with Master Almoner\*, & have shewed him what I have done; which is much busied at Lambeth, as ye know: I have therefore sent the said alterations unto you; that ye, comparing the book, that ye have already with this, may take or leave, as ye shal like or disallow.

In the beginning where it is written, *they shal preach & declare*, I have altered it through the book thus, *I declare unto you*, or this, *ye shal understand*. For else I suppose many of the curates be so brute, that they would read or speake every word, as it was



written, & say of themselves in the pulpit, *they shal preach & declare*: as a talk runs of a collier that did so in a stage play, &c. p. 143.

Also, in the beginning be two maners of entring into the matter: one for learned, one other for ignorant.

I have also brought in a good saying or two of Tertullian, that *princes be highest next God*. I have brought in divers histories of the Bible, that kings commanded the priests, constituted the priests, & Levites, punished - - - - - the highest bp. sometime with death, sometime revenging them, & setting one other in their place. And this I did for certain causes, which yee may correct.

I have left out the allegory of the repairing of the (temple) when it was in ruine, because it is not the allegory sense, but the literal sense, that must prove any matter sufficiently. And that princes may reform the clergy doing amiss. It is better proved in that book otherwise.

I have also added something in the end, as ye may soon perceive. And besides this, the book standeth in most places, even as it did, saving here & there a word.

I have drawn a title to be set before the book, which ye may emend at your plesure; & further do with this book as it shal like you. I pray you have me in mind at this change, as out of your own I desired you in my last letters. And thus fare ye as well as I would my self to fare. From London, the 5th day of August. The common sicknes waxeth very busy in London.

By your own

THOMAS BEDYL.

## NUMBER LVI.

*Crumwells letter to certain monasteries, that feared the king would force them to surrender: assuring them of their continuance, upon their suitable behaviour to their institution. And to apprehend such as should report the contrary.*

Cott.  
Librar.  
Cleopatra,  
E. 4.

p. 144.

AFTER my harty commendations. Albeit I doubt not, but having long sithence received the kings highnes letters; wherein his majesty signified unto you, that using yourselves like his good & faithful subjects, his grace would not in anywise interrupt you in your state & kind of living: and that his plesure therefore was, in case any man should declare any thing to the contrary, you should cause him to be apprehended, & kept in sure custody, till further knowledge of his graces plesure; you would so firmly repose your selves in the tenor of his said letters, as now his words; ne any voluntary surrender made by any governour & company of any religious house, sithence that time, shal put you in any doubt or fear of suppression, or change of your kind of life & policy. Yet the most excellent wisdom of his majesty, knowing as wel, that on the one side fear may enter upon a contrary apparance, where the ground & original is not known; as on the other side, that in such cases there cannot want some malicious & cankered hearts, that upon a voluntary & frank surrender, would persuade & blow abroad a general & a violent suppression; to the intent you should safely adhere to the sentence of the said letters by his highnes already addrest unto you, & like good subjects ensue the purport of the same in the apprehension & detention of al such persons that had brought, or would instil the contrary: wheras certain governours & companies of few religious houses have lately made free & voluntary surrenders into his graces hands: hath commanded me for your reposes, quiets, & for the causes specified on his graces behalf, to advertise

you, that unles there had been offertures made by the said houses that have resigned, his grace would never have received the same : & that his majesty intendeth not in any wise to trouble you, or to devise for the suppression of any religious house that standeth ; except they shal either desire of themselves with one whole consent to resign or forsake the same, or else misuse themselves contrary to their allegiencie. In which case they shal deserve the loss of much more than their houses & possessions : that is the loss also of their lives.

Wherefore in this you may repose your selves : giving your selves to serve God devoutly, to live like true & faithful subjects to his majesty, & to provide honestly for the sustentation of your houses, & the relieving of poor people with the hospitality of the same, without consumption, & wilful wast & spoil of things ; which hath been lately made in many abbies : as tho the governors of them minded only their dissolution : you may be sure that you shal not be impeached by his majesty : but that his grace wol be your shield or defence against al other that would minister unto you any injury or displeasure. And if any man, of what degree soever he be, shal pronounce any thing to the contrary hereof, fail you not, either to apprehend him, if you shal be able : or if he be such a personage that you shal not dare to meddle with, to write to his majesties highnes their name or names ; & report that he or they, so rude behaving themselves, may be punished for the same, as shal appertain.

## NUMBER LVII.

*Legh and Ap Rice to Secretary Crumwel ; concerning the inhibitions of bishops.*

AFTER due commendations, please it your master-ship to be advertised : that we, supposing that the

Cleopatra,  
E.6.p.255.

bps. would be in hand with you again touching the *inhibitions*, thought good to shew you such reasons, as moved us to cause them to be made after that maner.

p. 145. First, wheras the king, tho he were alwayes so indeed, yet but now of late agnized & declared supreme head of the church of England, & could not put that title in real possession & execution, but if he took into his hands once al jurisdiction & power; & for a season, or at his plesure, exercise the same for the establishment of his subjects, & a perpetual monument:

Also, lest the bps. if they had alwayes enjoyed this jurisdiction, without any interruption, would (as in maner they do already) have supposed & reckoned, they had received the same from elsewhere, than from the kings highnes; it seemed to us good, that they should be driven by this means to agnize their author, spring & fountain; as else they be too ingrate to enjoy it.

If they had any jurisdiction, they must needs have received it, either by the law of God, or by the Bp. of Romes authority, or else by the kings grace permission. Which is no sufficient discharge against the statute. If they say, against (by) the law of God, let them bring forth scripture. But I think them not so impudent as to say so. If they say, by the Bp. of Romes authority, let them exercise stil, if they think it meet. If they say, by the kings permission, why be they more discontent, that the king should cal again now to his hands, that which came from him to them, than they would have been, if he had now granted it them? And surely they are not able to justify the exercise of their jurisdiction hitherto.

But may fortune, they wil say, they have *prescribed* against the king. And truly, tho the law of the realm say the contrary, we say that they would have done so indeed, if they had yet stil continued the same without interruption. And therefore to



avoyd that they do not so *prescribe*, we thought good at the least way once to interrupt them, & that for the visitation time. Or else their successors might say, that the king had but only the title, & never might, nor did, put the same in execution. For such hath been their juggling heretofore, as the king & you know wel enough.

Also, if they should exercise this jurisdiction, it must be executed after the canon laws, which, with their author, are profligate out of this realm. Therefore we thought meet, that the jurisdiction should be given (if it pleased the kings highnes so) to them even with the laws, after whose tenor the same should be executed. That then it may appear to al the world, that both the laws & also jurisdiction, procede of the kings highnes, as the chief spring, head & fountain.

But yet it should seem, whatsoever they say, that they refer this jurisdiction, as accepted from some else, than from the king, if they durst speak it; when they chalenge it as their right, & grudg at these things. Sith no man can suppose, if they reckoned it to have proceded of the king, that any of them would be discontent, that he should cal that to his hands again, which they never enjoyed but by his permission & tolerance.

If they claim it as their right, let them shew their evidence. If they take it as a benefit of the kings highnes, let them sue for it again by supplication. That they & al other may understand him to be the head-power within this realm under God; & that no jurisdiction procedeth within the same, but from him.

And they in the mean, to exercise only necessary things, (if they can shew any) as the kings commissaries & yours, every man in his diocess: & in no wise to meddle with such things, as be voluntary, unto the time above rehearsed. p. 146.

These things & al other we remit to your high wisdom, discretion, & correction.

Also, we send you two articles to be set in the

injunctions of Cambridg, which we had omitted. And the same injunctions, when ye have perused them & corrected, it may please you mastership to cause to be written in parchment, & sealed, & then to be sent unto us. And this the Almighty God have your mastership in his blessed keeping, the 24 Septemb.

Your ever assured

THOMAS LEGH, D. L.

Your faithful servant,

JOHN AP RICE.

Sir, I pray you to remember my bil, touching the bulls, if ye think I may do the kings grace any service therin, & you any commodity.

## NUMBER LVIII.

*Some additions to the injunctions for the University of Cambridg, prepared by the kings visitors.*

*After the preface, this to be the FIRST ARTICLE.*

ET primum omnium, vos omnes et singuli, fideliter verèq; & ex animo observabitis, & ab alijs, quantum in vobis fuerit, sic observari facietis, docebitis & procurabitis, omnia & singula contenta tam in jramento successionis nostræ aliàs per vos præstito, quàm in quodam professione sigillo vestro communi sigillata, & manibus vestris subscripta: statutáq; hujus regni pro extirpatione papatus, & usurpatæ sive prætensæ potestatis Romani episcopi in hoc regno, proq; assertionem sive confirmationem authoritatis, jurisdictionis, & prærogativæ nostræ supremæ ecclesiasticæ, & successorum nostrorum, quancòcùnq; edita, sive sancita, edendáq; sive sancienda, modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius poteritis, adimplebitis & observabitis. Ac juniores & alios vestræ curæ commissos sedulò docebitis & instruētis, ipsos unà vobiscum penitus esse absolutos ab omnia obedientia epis-

copo Romano deberi prætensa ; regiámq; potestatem cæteris omnibus juxta divinum eloquium in terris præcellentiorẽ esse, & eidem præ alijs omnibus ex divino præcepto parendum & obediendum esse : nec Rom. episcopi antehac usurpatam jurisdictionem, sive auctoritatem quovismodo ex sacris literis fundatam esse ; sed partim dolo & astutia ejusdem Rom. episcopi, ipsiúsq; pravis & ambitiosis canonibus & decretalibus, ac partim tolerantia & permissione principum, succrevisse : & ideò nunc jure optimo & æquissimo ex hoc nostro regno auctoritate publica sublatam esse.

## THE SECOND ARTICLE.

p. 147.

Et quia animadvertimus corruptelam præcipuam studiorum omnium fuisse, &c.

*At the end of the injunctions this to be added.*

Has leges & injunctiones vobis, charissimi, jam tulimus & proposuimus, reservantes nobis, ac præfato nostro Thomæ Crumwel, visitori nostri generali, sive ejus in ea parte surrogato cuicúnq;, potestatem, quascúnq; alias injunctiones indicendi ; cæteraq; pro nostro, sive ejus arbitrio faciendi ; quæ nostræ, ipsiúsve, prudentiæ & discretioni visum fuerit expedire. Quæ omnia & singula injunctiones ac mandata præscripta, vos omnes & singulos respective ; inviolabiliter observare voluimus, præcipimus & mandamus, sub pænâ indignationis nostræ regiæ.

## NUMBER LIX.

*The Bishop of Durham, to Secretary Crumwel, concerning a commission sent him for taking the valuation of livings.*

RIGHT honorable, in my humble maner I recom- Cleopatra,  
mend me unto your mastership, advertising the same ; E. 6.  
that where the kings highnes did direct his most ho- p. 248.

norable commission & instructions to me & my fellows, named therein, for the knowledg of the true valor of spiritual promotions within the bpric. of Durham, according to the act of parliament last past, for the kings tenths & first fruites ; we, according to our said commission & instructions, have endeavoured our selves by al means to us possible, to attain to the true knowledg of the said valors. And forasmuch as in these north parts were but three auditors joyned with us of this country, & them of Yorkshire; and the commissioners of Northumberland, & those of the archdeaconry of Richmond, & the books of Yorkshire, which is large, occupied the said auditors so long, that unto they were dispatched, we could not have them to attend to the making up the books of this country of the bishopric; which now they have done. And albeit we should have been glad to have had Mr. Blithman, (who brought unto us the kings commission, & is one of us, & now is there) to have been here at the sealing up of them, as he was at the taking up of the valors; yet forasmuch as it was shewed me, that your mastership, at the receipt of the books of York, marvelled, that ye heard no word from me & my fellows, we thought therefore best (not tarying the coming of Mr. Blithman, being uncertain unto us) to send up the books unto your mastership; which this bearer shal deliver unto the same. Wherin be comprized the true valors, as neer as we can attain, of al spiritual benefices & promotions within the limits of our commission.——And

p. 148.

by & by he writes, “ That he would follow the kings commandment, that is, to give no institutions unto any, until the kings highnes were agreed withal for his first fruites.” And advised Crumwel, “ That it were good, that some in those parts had authority to take the bonds: because many things might fal that would put the party to as much charge to ride up to London for them, as the fruites would amount unto.”



## NUMBER LX.

*Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, to the king ; being under his displeasure.*

My duty remembered to your majesty, with all lowly humility, & reverend honor. For as much as letted by disease of body I cannot personally repair to your highnes presence ; having heard of your graces almoner, to my great discomifort, what opinion your highnes hath conceived of me, I am compelled by these letters to represent me unto the same, lamenting & wailing my chance and fortune, to have lost, beside my deserts, as much reputation in your graces heart, as your highnes without my merit hath conferred unto me in estimation of the world. And if I comforted not my self with remembrance of your graces goodnes, with whom *Veritas semper vincit. & sortis tæderet & vitæ.*

I know in my self, & can never forget your graces benefits, your highnes notable affection toward me. I know my duty & bond to your highnes. How much I desire to declare in outward deeds mine inward knowledg, God knoweth, & I trust your h. shal know. But in the mean time for want therof, thus I suffer, & know no remedy, but your h. goodnes, to expend what I have done, what I should have do, & what I may do : & not to be discontent, tho, in correcting the answer made, I belcived so great a number of learned men, affirming it so precisely to be true, that was in the answer alledged concerning Gods law. Especially, considering your h. book against Luther, in mine understanding most plainly approveth it. The book written in your graces cause, & translated into English, seemeth to allow it. And the Councel of Constance, condemning the articles of Wyckif, manifestly decreeth it. The contrary wherof if your grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in divinity, ne knowing any part of your graces proves, am I trust without cause of blame in

Cleopatra,  
E. 6.  
p. 200.

that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shal then speak therafter. It were pity we lived, if so little expressing our love to God in our deeds, we should abuse his name & authority, to your h. displeasure, of whom we have received so many benefits. On the other part, if it be Gods authority, to us allotted, tho we cannot use it condignely, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no les danger to receive than to give, as your h. of your high wisdom can consider. I am for my part, as I am bound, most desirous not only to do what may be done to your highnes contentation, but also appliable to learn the truth, what ought to be done. Trusting your majesty wil finally take in good part, that I think that true, for which I have so good grounds & authorities, until I hear stronger grounds & reasons to the contrary. I shal most gladly confer with any of your graces counsel in this matter. And in the mean time daily pray to God for knowledg of his truth, & preservation of your majesty in much felicity: alway most ready & desirous to do as becometh

Your most humble subject,  
 Most bounden chaplain,  
 & daily bedeman,  
 STE. WINTON.

## NUMBER LXI.

*Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, to Crumwel, vicar general. Upon the said bishops inhibiting a monk of Reading, to read lectures any more in the monastery. Whose cause the said vicar general had called to himself.*

Cott.  
 Librar.  
 Cleopatra,  
 E. 4.

My duty don unto your good lordsp. these shal be to advertise the same, that I received your honorable letters, dated the 13th day of March, & obeyed the same as it became me. Albeit that I wel perceived,

that the Abbot of Reading, in whose favour yee wrote, or else some other in his behalf, had misinformed you of the cause, why I did inhibit the monk that readeth there. The truth wherof, when I have once opened unto you, I nothing doubt, yee shal think it reasonable, to refer the whole matter again unto me: or else at the least to allow, ratify & confirm my doing; & to see the said abbot corrected for his misdoing in dispising me, Gods minister under the king, in my just & right doing.

The truth is this, Dompne Roger London, the reader, that was accused to me of heresie by three monks of the same house, namely, by these, D. William Benet, D. William Sutton, & D. Walter Ludlow. The matters were no trifles. The first; the holy scripture is not absolutely sufficient of it self, for a christen man to live by. *Item*, If any good man can preach the word of God sincerely & truly, both in word & example; yet is he not sufficient to keep a *cure*, unles he have somewhat more: that is to say, he must have the *cases* of conscience. *Item*, The evangelical faith justifieth no man before God, without his own works. *Item*, A man may deserve grace, justification, & a higher place in heaven by his own works.

Upon this accusation I examined him, as favourably as I could do: & found him a man of very smal knowledg, & of worse judgment: and finally making onely his reformation in words: & neither faggoting; nor to his utter shame & confusion, any open revocation. After I had a good length taught him the truth touching the premisses, I resolved our communication briefly as I could: namely, in such sort as declared the contrary of his articles to be the plain catholic truth: and took his subscription, & dismissed him. p. 150.

Now by this ye may perceive, my good lord, how unmeet a man this is to read a lecture in divinity there, or elsewhere, til he be of better judgment; yea, & of more insight in scripture, than he is yet

like to be. And herefore sued I unto your lordsp. to have had my man read there. The which thing, if it had come to pass, so should I not have needed to have inhibited the said monk his reading: but I bare with him to say his creed, so long as there was hope to have another reader there. But when my expectation was frustrated in that behalf, then was I driven to do that which I was loth to do; & which nevertheless I was bound to do, that is, to inhibit him reading.

And is not the abbot now worthy to be corrected, which, al this notwithstanding, hath caused the monk contemptuously stil to continue his lecture? Had not I been worthy correction, if I had contemptuously disobeyed your letter lately addressed unto me, having the equivalency of a inhibition? And as yee look to be obeyed of me, as long as yee be the kings deputy, so, I trow, ought I to be obeyed in my just using of mine authority, of al them over whom the kings highness hath set mee. As they disobey both God & the king, that in your just precepts disobey you his deputy; so do they disobey both God & the king, that in my just inhibition disobey me, that am also a minister under God & the king, in the sort of a bishop: and how this cause pertaineth to the kings injunctions, my good lord, in faith, I perceive not. I know this, the kings injunction is to have a lecture in divinity read. But & if the reader readeth not well, as he ought to do, I trow, it longeth to mine office to inhibit him the setting forth of his evil doctrine.

Wherefore if yee advoking this matter into your hands, by that means bear the abbot in his evil dealing, that he may escape, by that pretence, just correction, see yee thereto, if ye will. But judge, whether that be to exercise your office “In ædificationem, & non in destructionem.” God wil judge of such using of authority, my good lord; whose judgment no man shal escape. “Et ecce! Judex ante januam assistit,” saith S. James. And in like sort S. Peter, “Si tardat, inquit, dominus promissionem, sicut quidam



existimant; sed patienter agit propter vos; nolens aliquos perire, sed omnes ad pœnitentiam reverti. Adveniet autem dies domini, sicut fur," &c.

Where yee wil me, *not to exercise any other extremity*, against the said abbot, &c. Then, it seems that ye call this that I have don an *extremity*, & wil me not to exercise any other. If this be an extremity, my good lord, to call him to his answer, in faith, I wot not, what is justice & equity. If I had, after his answer made, put him to excessive correction, I had then practised extremity. Wherof if yee had then relieved him by your authority, ye had don wel your office & duty; but to take the matter from me by your authority, before I have practised any extremity, is indeed to abuse your authority, and to practise against me an extremity. And yet moreover to caluminate my weldoing, & cal it *extremity*, is much more than this extremity.

Is this the assistance, my good lord, that I shal look for from you, in reforming of proud contemners of authority, against disobedient persons, dispising Gods & the kings ministers; yea, both God & the king, in their ministers? And that yee construe all this extremity to be practised for the denyal of my request concerning a reader there, have misconstrued my weldoing once again. For as for the refusal of my reader, I set not by it a farthing; so that there be provided a good reader. For I made not my suit unto you in his behalf, as many men do, because I would be rid of my man: I ensure you, Sir, he is to me right dear: yea, & nothing the less, because he was a priest, & for his mariage degraded. "Quia gaudium est in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quàm super nonaginta," &c. He is now an honest layman, whatsoever he was, being a priest. But I made my suit unto you only, to the intent they mought have a good reader, which they had, & yet have, need of.

It is a strange thing, my good lord, to consider the affections of men, I could not obtain so much of you

the last day, as others, by word or writing to know your pleasure, what yee would have me to do with a popish monk late of Abyndon; altho I was most utterly ignorant, what I mought do. But I would have known, whether your pleasure had been to have heard him your self, as you did his abbot before. And the abbot of Reading could out of hand get & obtain your letters, to let me in my right proceeding, toward his just correction. Is this your encouraging of men to do their duty, my good lord? Although I have given you none occasion in my conscience, why ye should not be my good lord, yet perceive I right manifestly your grief towards me, not only by your former letters, which ye have divers times sent unto me; (which I water manitimes with salt tears) but also your misconstruing al my doings, yea, & by speaking your pleasure of me, ful ungodly & uncharitably. But let God alone: you hurt your self more than me. *Quia nemo læditur, nisi a seipso*, saith he. Our Lord have pity upon you, & turn your heart to amendment, when it shal please him. Your displeasure may utterly undoe me in this world, I know wel enough; like as your favour hath been occasion heretofore of my great avauncement, without my desire. And if it so come to pass, I hope I shal have in my mind, that “*Dominus pauperem facit, & ditat: humiliat, & sublevat:*” and Job his sentence; “*Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: sicut Domino placet, ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*” I trust, I say, the Lord shal give me patience & grace, to take of his hand whatsoever he shal send me: “*Et faciet cum temptatione proventum, (as Paul saith,) ut possim sustinere.*” This I know, “*Quòd non haberes potestatem adversus me ullam, nisi data esset tibi desuper.*” This I know, that tho al men on earth, yea, & al the devils in hel, incite & stir you against me, not a hair of my head shal perish without the goodwil of my Father in heaven.

Nevertheless, as I am sure that I have not, so I hope, that I shal not give you any occasion justly to

be grieved with me. But & if ye wil, without just occasion given you, exercise your power against me, *et odio habere me gratis*, then let God alone; upon whom I depend; & to whose protection I wholly do commit me.

Mine own dear good lord, for Gods sake, hate not them that love you. Be not grieved with them, that for christen love admonish you; & even from the bottome of their hearts, pray for you. But be displeased with them that flatter you. Remember, that it is written (Eccl. 19.) “*Et qui nequiter humiliat se: & interiora ejus plena sunt dolo.*” For in their hearts they care not, whether yee fleet or sink. Aid them with your authority, which apply themselves to serve God & the king in their calling. Among whom I reckon my self one, & will give no place therin to the best bp. in England for my talent, except Canterbury & Worcester. And alas! Sir, what good shal I do with my continual preaching, & earnestly setting forth of the truth, if the residentiaries of Salisbury, to whom ye wrote that the kings grace shal take my doings in evil part touching that cause; or, the maior & citizens of Salisbury, whom ye seem to bear in the usurping against the kings grants & their own composition with the church; or any other of my dioces here, that I am again out of favour with you, & as they wil judge with the kings grace, (*cujus indignatio mors est*) through you? Yea, who wil set a straw other by me, or my preaching, if authority be away? The which thing your self wel considering, said the last year openly among us al, that we should suffer no minishment of authority, but rather have more, than ever we had. But now it appeareth, *quòd verba sunt hæc*.

Yee wrote me a sore letter, because I wrote in my letters, that by the grant of King Edward IV. the maior of Sarum is the bishops maior, & the citizens the bishops citizens, as wel as the maior of Reading the abbots maior, &c. As tho I had committed a great fault in so writing; & made no mention of the

king, our sovereign lord, his confirmation. “Which except I had, I would never have written such a word for my head. For what profit should any kings graunts do a man, without confirmation of him that weareth the crown?” Was not this to be grieved without occasion, my good lord? Yea, was not this to seek a knot in the bulrush, as it is said? And God is my witnes, how little I lift up my self, because of such graunts; were not the quietnes & ease of the poor citzens, which be now free of al tollage & pollage, assoon as they come to inhabit them in the city. Where else they should not open a shop window, nor keep none inn without payment of money. And had not they, I mean the poor, desired me the contrary, I would ere this day, have given up al those graunts clearly: rather than through the injust complaints of certain unquiet persons, yee should have been thus sore grieved with me.

And now, Sir, both the graunts, & I also, are at the kings plesure, even *at a beck*, as it is said; whensoever it shall be thought good unto him, & you of the council, to have another order.

Now forgive me, Sir, for Christs blessed bloud sake, if through my rudeness, I have grieved you in this, or any other of my letters; & take al in good part, I hartily beseech you. Construe nothing unchristenly: & become again my good lord. And then shal rejoyce, that God hath fortunate my writing: which bringeth to effect oft times every difficile things, I will not say, impossible. If yee take otherwise & wil stil continue sore against me, I would wish that I were no bp. but obscure in some angle, to sing to my self, & my muses, as it is said. For little good shal I do in my office, wot I wel, without your assistance, & such as yee be. And if I do no good in it, what should I do with it? As for my self, I lived with much more ease a great deal, before I was a bishop.

And now, what your good plesure shal be, that I do further, concerning the abbot of Reading, & his



monk, the reader; I beseech you, it may please you to signify unto me by your honorable letters; & I shal order me therafter, as it becometh me, obediently, by the grace of God. Who preserve your good lordship long, with much encrease of honour. From Ramsbury: the xxj. day of March: by the evil hand

Of your lordships to command,

NICOLAS SALESBURY.

## NUMBER LXII.

*Sir Thomas Elyot, to Secretary Crumwel; concerning his sending in seditious books of the Bishop of Romes authority. According to a proclamation.*

MASTER Secretary, in my right humble maner I have me recommended unto you. Sir, albeit it were my duty to await on you, desiring to be perfectly instructed in the effectual understanding of the kings most gracious plesure, contained in his graces proclamation concerning seditious books; now foras-much as I have been very sick, & yet am not intyre recovered, I am constrained to importune you with these my homely letters. Which considering my necessity & sincere meaning, I trust, wil not be fastidious unto you. Whom I have alway accounted one of my chosen friends, for the similitude of our studies: which undoubtedly is the most perfect foundation of amity

Cleopatra,  
E. 6.  
p. 249.

Sir, as ye know, I have been ever desirous to read many books, especially concerning humanity & moral philosophy. And therfore of such studies I have a competent number. But concerning h. scripture I have very few. For in questionists I never delighted. Unsavory glosses & comments I ever abhorred. The boasters & advauncers of the pompous authority of the Bishop of Rome I never esteemed. But after that, by much & serious reading, I had apprehended a judgment, or estimation of things, I did anon smel out their corrupt affection, &

beheld with scornful eyes the sundry abusions of their authorities, adorned with a licentious & dissolute form of living. Of the which, as wel in them, as in the universal state of the clergy, I have oftentimes wished a necessary reformation. Wherof hath happened no little contention betwixt me & such persons, as ye have thought that I have especially favoured; even as ye also did for some laudable qualities; which we supposed to be in them. But  
 p. 154. neither they mought persuade me to approve that, which both my faith & reason condemned, nor I mought dissuade them from the excusing of that, which al the world abhorred. Which obstinacy of both parts relented the great affection betwixt us, & withdrew our familiarity repayd.

As touching such books as be now prohibited, containing the Bp. of Romes authority; some indeed I have, joynd with divers other works in one great volume, or two at the most, which I have found leisure to read. Notwithstanding if it be the kings plesure & yours, that I shal bring or send them, I will do it right gladly. As for the works of John Fisher, I never had any of them to my knowledg, except one little sermon: which about 8 or 9 years past was translated into Latine by Mr. Pace. And for that cause I bought it, more than for the author or matter. But where it is, I am not sure. For, in good faith, I never read it but once, since I bought it. Finally, if your plesure be to have that & the other, forasmuch as my books be in sundry houses of mine own, & far asunder, I heartily pray you, that I may have convenient respite to repair thither after my perfect recovery. And as I would, that God should help me, I will make diligent search, & such as I shal find, savouring any thing against the kings plesure, I will put them in readines, either to be brought to you, or to be cut out of the volume, where they be joynd with other, as yee shal advise me, after that I have certified to you the titles of them.

Wherefore, Sir, I heartily beseech you, for the

sincere love that I have towards you, to advertise me plainly (ye lacking plesure to write) either by Mr. Petre Vannes, or Mr. Augustine; they writing what your counsel & advise is herein, which to my power I wil follow. And, good Mr. Secretary, consider, that from the time of our first acquaintance, which began of a mutual benevolence, ye never knew in me froward opinion, or dissimulation. Perchance natural simplicity, not discretely ordered, mought cause men to suspect I favoured hypocrisy, superstition, & vanity; notwithstanding, if ye mought se my thoughts, as God doth, ye should find a reformer of those things, & not a favourer, if I mought that I would. And that I desire no less, that my sovereign lord should prosper, & be exalted in honor, than any servant that he hath: as Christ knoweth. Which send to you abundance of his grace, with long life. Written at Cambridg on the vigil of S. Thomas.

Your unfeignedly

ELYOTT.

### NUMBER LXIII.

p. 155.

*An ambassiate & declaration of K. Henry VIII. to James V. King of Scots; concerning the supremacy, &c.; exciting that king to cast off popery, & to vindicate his own authority from the encroachments of Rome.*

Most excellent, mighty, & victorious prince.—  
 Pleaseth your majesty, that by the commandment of  
 my most dread lord & sovereign King of England,  
 your graces most dear uncle, I have in charge under  
 commission certain special matters concerning his  
 highnes plesure, secretly to be signified unto your  
 grace. Wherin, not only as a natural cousin of your  
 royal consanguinity, but as a most loving father, in-  
 tirely tendring your worthy honor; no les desirous  
 therof, than regarding his own peculiar prosperity:  
 unfeignedly accounting your graces advancement his

Cleopatra,  
 E.6. p.260.

most conformable consolation. In consideration wherof, sith it hath so pleased God of his infinite favor to revele unto his highnes, as wel by studious endeavor of good letters, as by erudite consultation of famous esteemed clerks; also by long attempted experience in searching the truth, chiefly in Christs doctrin, (who saith, Joh. 14. *Ego sum veritas*) now clearly to perceive the thral captivity under the usurped power of the Bp. of Rome, & his ungodly laws; wherein his highnes, & other many of his noble progenitors, were most wickedly abused, to their intolerable calamity & exceeding molestation of their subjects, over whom God had yevon them authority & governance to rule; as by al stories of the Old Testament, & information of the New, plainly appeareth:

Which, groundly known to his highnes, wisheth likewise the same to be persuaded unto your grace. Wherby your honorable renown & royal authority should be much enlarged, with no les felicity of soul, principally to be regarded, than with habundant commodity of riches & unfeigned obeysaunce of faithful subjects, far from the cumbersome calamity of popish miserable molestations. What more intolerable calamity may there be to a christen prince, than unjustly to be defeated of the righteous jurisdiction within his own realm: to be a king by name, but not in deed? To be a ruler without regiment over his own liege people? What more grievous molestation can chance to true-hearted subjects, than to be severed from the allegiance due to their natural sovereign, their anoynted king, graunted by God's law, & to become servile slaves to a foraign potentate, usurping to reign over them against the law of God; as by the violent tyranny of the Bp. of Rome hath hitherto many years been practised throughout al regions, to the ruinous desolation of the holy christentie? What realm is there, but that the Bp. of Rome hath planted therein his kingdome, & established his regiment, after such a subtil way, that he & his



crafty creatures were obeyed of princes, to whom of duty they ought to have been subjects? 1 Petri 2. "Sive regi tanquam præcellenti," &c. Of whom al Roman bps. have presumed to be successors, but not followers; contrary to his example, "Qui non venit ministrari, sed ministrare." p. 156.

In al realms the popish practise hath had such confederatie of false forsworn factions, & traiterous titinylls, untrue to their sovereign, that nothing was so secret in counsel of any prince, but forthwith it was caried by relation to the popes ear. And if ought were attempted against his own person, or any crooked creature of his creation, in restraint of their extortionate claimes, (as there was nothing but they claimed to have authority upon) incontinent they bounced out their thunder-bolts & cursing fulminations, with such intolerable force of unmerciful cruelty, that they made the greatest personages of the world to tremble & quake for fear. For by the negligent sufferance of princes through default of knowledge of Gods word, that popish pride was so haught, his authority so preeminent, his power so puissaunt, his strength so mighty, his displeasure so dangerous, his tyranny so terrible, that scarce any durst resist, to countervaile none was able.

Examples of many excellent princes, as John the First, & Henry II. of gracious memory, kings of England, here in their life-times most cruelly vexed: & after their decease, by forged leasyngs, & slanderous impeachments, misreported & falsely belyed, with dispiteful dishonour of their excellent progeny. After like fashion the victorious Emperor Lodovicus, enterprising to interrupt the pestilent perversity of Pope John XXII. to what careful confusion was he brought? Moreover the godly & wel disposed Henry III. Emperor of Almayn, how traiterously was he betrayed by Pope Hildebrand, procuring his own son unnaturally to war against his father, to take him prisoner, & finally to depose him of his imperial crown? Furthermore, what christen heart

can refrain from sorrowful sighs, & mournful lamentations, to consider how the innocent & harmles Prince Childericus, King of France, was extremely handled of his own servant; Pepyne, bereaved of his kingdom, through the instigation of the Bp. of Rome?

And now, though he hath thus encroached upon princes, being men, (he had been less to blame, had that been all) whereas he hath exalted himself against God, thrusting him out of his room, & settling himself in God's place, the conscience of christen people: of whose usurped power, S. Paul prophesying, Thes. 2. calleth him, *The sinful man, the son of perdition*: "Qui est adversarius, & effertur adversus omne quod dicitur Deus, aut numen; adeo ut in templo Dei sedeat." Doth he not sit in the temple of God, by damnable dispensations, by deceivable remissions, by lying miracles, by feigned relicks, by false religion, &c.? And as he hath avoyded God out of the conscience of christen people; so hath he defeated princes of their jurisdiction, & debarred every common weal from their politic governance, bringing in his lawless canons, & detestable decrees; supplanting the divine ordinance of power given to princely rulers. And the cause why they have been so deceived, S. Paul declareth, "Eo quod dilectionem veritatis non acceperunt."

p. 157.

This egally considered of your most prudent, singular, & high politick discretion, as wel by probable experience within your dominions, as by evident example of other christen regions, where the popish unruly regiment hath reigned, with intolerable usurpations, tyrannously defacing al power of princes; it may please your gracious benignity to advertise the intyre intent, the loving mind, & unfeigned heart of my sovereign, your most dear uncle, to be expressed to allure your graces affection toward the favorable embrasement of Gods word. Wherein his highnes only rejoycing ardently, desireth to impart the same, his special joy, with your most excellent grace: which

should be greatly the advancement of your state royal, the quietation of your loving subjects, & most highly the plesure of God.

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### NUMBER LXIV.

*The proposals, called the Petitions, of John Frederic, the Duke of Saxony, & Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; given to the kings ambassadors, in order to a league.*

*Imprimis*, That it may please the kings majesty to promote the doctrin of the gospel, as the confession of the Germans at Augstburg, & the apologies thereupon do import: unles his grace woll change or reform any thing according to the word of God. Cleopatra, E.6. p.296.

*Item*, That his highnes shal defend, with the confederates, the doctrin of the gospel, & the ceremonies conformable to the same in the council general, if the same shal be just, catholic, & free.

*Item*, That neither his g. nor the confederates in Germany, without the express consent of both parties, shal not assent to any council to be indicted by the Bp. of Rome, whatsoever authority he shal pretend; nor also agree with the people of the said council. Provided nevertheles, that if it shall appear such a free, just, & christian council, to be indicted, as the confederates do require in their answer to Paulus Vergerius, the Bp. of Romes ambassador, that such council is not to be refused.

*Item*, That if it should happen, that any council should be indicted by the Bp. of Rome to certain place, where he, & other princes of his papistical confederation, would procede, if the said council should be indicted without his majesty, & confederates of Germany their agreement; that they shal earnestly employ themselves to let it to their power.

*Item*, That in the same case they shal make, & cause protestation to be made, how they dissent to the said council, & that they intend not to be bound to the decrees of the same.

*Item*, That they shal obey no manner of decrees, mandates, sentences, bulls, letters, or breves of the said council, in whatsoever name they shal procede, & they shal refuse the same to be good & lawful; & to their powers cause their bishops & preachers so to persuade unto the people.

*Item*, They desire, that like as his majesty is associate unto them in the doctrin of God, so his highnes would take upon him the place of protector & defender of their league.

p. 158.

*Item*, That neither the kings highnes, nor the Germans, shal defend or maintain the opinion, that the primacy of Rome should be *jure divino*; nor that it should be expedient to the common wealth of Christendome to have the Bp. of Rome above al other, or to have any jurisdiction within the dominions of the said princes.

*Item*, That in case it should happen any wars to be moved against the said king, or any of the princes or states of Germany, in the cause of religion, or of any other cause or matter; that neither of both parties shal give any help, succor or aid, or favor, against the other, directly or undirectly, secretly or openly, to the invasor.

*Item*, That it may please the kings majesty, for the defence of the league, & cause of religion, to contribute & put in, & under sureties deposit, with the said princes, 100000 crownes. The one half wherof the said confederates shal & may use for their defence; & the other half the said confederates shal take of such monies, as they have conferred & deposited to that sum. And if the said confederates shal need to make any long defence, that seeing the princes & confederates be bound to further sums to be by them contributed, besides the danger of their goods & lives for the mutual defence; that it may please the kings majesty to contribute 200000 crownes more. Of the one part wherof the confederates may have the use. And if the war shal happen sooner to be finished, that then the rest shal be reserved *bona*



*fide*; & restored after the time of the confederation to his majesty.

*Item*, That if the king woll so do, the said princes shal promise & give sufficient sureties, that they shal convert no part of the same sum to any other use, than to the defence of the league & cause of the religion, nor of any such money as they do contribute to the same. And that in case the same sum be not so spent, that they restore it to his majesty; or after the defence they shal restore the rest, that shal not have been spent in that use.

*Item*, That in the mean time, while the kings orators shal confer with some of their learned men, the said orators wol advertise the k. highnes therof, & to know therupon his plesure, to be signified unto the said duke & landgrave.

*Item*, That after his plesure known, the said princes, in their names, & also in the names of their confederates, shal send some ambassadors, & among them one excellently learned, not only to confer upon the doctrin & ceremonies, &c. but also to treat & conclude with his highnes, in the name of the confederates.

## NUMBER LXV.

p. 159.

*The opinion of Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, concerning the articles, presented to the kings highnes by the princes of Germany.*

As touching the first article. If this article be granted unto, then shal the kings highnes be bound to the church of Germany, & without their consent may not do that the word of God shal permit, unles the common consent doth concur therunto. Wherupon if this capitulation be lawful, & shal bind, then shal the Bp. of Rome draw it for an argument to his part, that the word of God may be restrained to a common assent. Wherfore a league or bond herein

Cleopatra,  
E.5. p.214.

in such termes, is, in my judgment, incompatible. For by the word of God, both they may reform their opinions without our assent, & we without theirs, whatsoever league were made to the contrary.

And for the world, In as much as the kings highnes, being of the state of a king, & in his realm an emperor, & head of the church of England; & among the princes of Germany there be onely dukes & lower degrees; such also as knowledg the emperor for their supreme lord; by reason wherof the same reasons, wherby we prove by scripture the kings majesty head of the church of England, we prove also the emperor head of their churches: how shal they, without the consent of the head of their church, (which is the emperor) establish with us the agreement upon their religion: or how shal we, without derogating the kings cause of his prerogative & supremacy, covenant with them in that behalf: whom we know as no heads of their church, but inferior members, as long as they knowledg a superior in the same church; that is to say, themselves as subjects to the emperor? For as we must be ordered by our head, the kings highnes; so wil the emperor also, that they should be ruled by him according to the word of God. If they here in wil not agree with us, then shal we vary in a great matter. For either they must deny the emperor their superior, wherin they be very scrupulous, & seem to attribute very much unto him; or else granting, that they must, according to our opinion, which is true, grant him head of the church; and it followeth then, that without him they can establish nothing, but such as he alone, by the word of God, may reforme at al times.

As touching the second, The kings highnes might make such a promise unto them as is contained in this article; & therby be bound, so as by the word al were discussed. But on their part, I se not how their promise can stand, & be sure: because they knowledg a subjection to the emperor.

To the third article, As concerning the council to

be indicted, as they have answered to the Bp. of Rome: in as much as the kings highnes hath nothing ado with the emperor; I se not how his grace should agree to any councel to be indicted by the said emperor. And yet this article doth import that effect, in that it maketh an acception of such a councel, as should be indicted according to the answer made to Peter Paul (Vergerius, the popes ambassador.) p. 160.

As touching the fourth article, The kings highnes may accomplish this article on his part. But I see not how they could do any thing again for their part, in letting the councel, for as much as touch them, in case the emperor would, as emperor, cal the councel.

To the seventh article, Me seemeth the word *association* soundeth not wel. Ne it were convenient, that the kings highnes should have any lower place, than to be chief, principal, & head of the league, & the rest not to be associate, but adherent & dependent therunto, as contrahents. And if any were, the Duke of Saxony to be associate: whom, for that he is an elector, the kings highnes hath been accustomed to write *his cousin*, &c.

The rest of the articles, concerning mutual defence & mony, be very good for the said princes. For they shal be sure of a great prince to their friend, & therewith a sum of money in hand, wherby they might be percase relieved. But as for a reciproque, I se none to the kings highnes for their part again: in as much as they be so far off, & cal themselves the emperors subjects.

Finally, where they desire to have al things agreed unto, before they send an ambassador to the k. h. they speak therein wisely for their own commodity. For so shal they stil obtain his grace, that they shal then send unto us, not to learn of us, but to instruct & teach us; not to sue to us, but to direct our church in such ceremonies, as by their deliberation should be communed of & concluded.

Thus, Master Secretary, according your letters I

write unto you what I think, that is to say, what doubts & scrupulosities I find in this matter. Wherin percase I write somewhat amiss, because I understand not fully how they take the emperor in Germany, ne what wil be their opinion in him. But if they take him, as I gather by their other writings they do, then our matters by way of league shal be so much the more perplexed with them. I would rather advise the kings h. to give them mony, wherewith to defend truth, than to enter any league with such men, which, as I fear, cannot be fast bound again, & dwel also so far off. To hear their ambassadors, to commune also with them, to discuss the very truth, were very good: but upon the word of God to make a new knot, wherof the one end shal be in Germany, shal declare rather a change of a bond of dependence, than a riddance thereof. If the kings h. can induce them wholly & uniformly to agree upon the mere truth, it shal be an honourable deed, beside the secret merit therof. But in case a bond were made, & then any of them should swerve from any piece of the capitulation by force of the emperor, a grief & displeasure should ensue, without any commodity of redressing the same. I write the worst, for that ever needeth remedy: the best needeth no commendation, & the best, I doubt not, shal be followed with you.

One thing I have thought good to put you in remembrance of, that it were wel done, that they were moved there in Germany to agree upon the kings stile, because of his supremacy, as wel as upon his cause of matrimony; wherin God hath given sentence, for the most part by the death of the dowager.\* And this cause is now so necessary as the other. For since my coming hither, I have been assayed herein. And one said, he thought they in Germany would not agree therunto, for fear of giving unto the emperor over much authority over them. Upon which occasion, I made this answer my first reason unto you. The king, our master, hath a special cause, because

\* Who deceased in  
Jan. 1535.  
p. 161.



he is emperor in himself, & hath no superior. Other kings, that knowledg an emperor, had rather suffer any man else than the emperor to be head of their church. This, I doubt not, but by your wisdom you can consider, & the emperor, which is too great already, they wil in no wise make him greater.

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## NUMBER LXVI.

*The answer of the kings ambassadors, made to the Duke of Saxe, & Landgrave of Hesse.*

FIRST, that his highnes as wel by his ambassadors, as their letters from Smalkald, doth perceive two things. The one is their gratitude & benevolence towards his majesty, & that they desire the continuance (of friendship) betwixt their progenitors inviolably observed, to be increased. The other is, not only their great constancy in setting forth of the truth of the gospel, that was darkned afore, but also that they exhort his grace to the defence of the same: which be most acceptable to his highnes: & thanketh them as wel for his behalf, as also for the behalf of al christendome: knowledging the great benefit of God, in giving the said princes such stedfastnes & strength. And that his majesty willed to be shewed unto them, that their wondrous vertues have so ravished & drawn his mind to their love, that his highnes feeled a great encrease (enclination) to their amitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to pass the occasion without correspondence of love, nor any occasion that he shal think may conduce in any wise to their good minds & godly proceedings; and for to declare his mind to the articles of their petition.

Cleopatra.  
E.6. p.298.

The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, cleventh, twelfth, thirteenth articles, do please his majesty wel enough. And altho there be something in them that his grace would grant easily to no

maner princes, were they never so great ; yet nevertheless his highnes, for his affection towards them, thinketh that they mean nothing else, but the reformation of the church, which his majesty for his part desireth much, & desireth to joyn with them in the same.

In these articles his majesty desireth, that only the third & ninth article be more amply declared : that is to say,

p. 162. The third article be these words, *Item*, That neither the kings highnes, without the assent of the princes & estates confederates, nor they without his graces assent, shal agree to the indiction of any council, that the Bp of Rome, that now is, or any other, whatsoever authority he pretend (shal indict.) And that also neither of the said parties shal agree upon the place of a council to be had, without the agreement of the other, expresly to be given : but that the same be done by the mutual assent of his grace, the said princes, and estates. Provided nevertheless, that if al they shal perceive a lawful & christian free council, to be indicted in some sure & indifferent place, that then neither of both parties shal refuse the said council.

To the ninth article his highnes would have added, That neither of both parties shal permit any of their servants or subjects to be infold against the other part, nor to help directly, nor indirectly, such as would invade or enterprize against them.

As to the first, second, seventh & tenth articles, his grace answereth.

To the tenth, his majesty saith, that he doubted not, but the said confederates do wel think & know, that his grace is moved in his mind, by no maner private necessity, that he or his realm have, nor any private profit, to join with the said confederates in league of defence. For he & his realm is in good peace, & knoweth not, that the Bishop of Rome, the emperor, or any other prince, picketh any quarrel with him, & much less war. And altho his grace

feared some hostility of them, nevertheles by the death of a woman (viz. Q. Katharin) al calumnies be extincted. And to the intent the confederates might know his graces good affection toward them, & to the reformation of the church, & abolition of abuses, his grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse their petition, but willingly contribute for his part an 100000 crownes for the defence of the league, in case that the confederation betwixt the said confederates & his grace to be made, shal be brought to any effect. And for other appendences of this article, as touching sufficient sureties; *Item*, That the half of the mony by them contributed should be spent, or ever they touch his graces mony; *Item*, Concerning the form & maner to deposit & spend the same; *Item*, To make his highnes privy of the sum that on their behalves shal be contributed, & of the necessity, wherabouts it should be spent; & that al things may be don by common advise & assent, because the same do require long treaty, therefore his grace referreth the same to his orators, & to such of theirs, as by the 13th article they desire to send. His grace desireth the said princes to send them fully instructed, & with sufficient power & authority to treat with his highnes; not doubting but they shal have reasonable & friendly answer.

To the first, second & seventh articles; his majesty hath very acceptable & agreable the honor they have thought to defer on him, as, above al princes, to cal him to be *Protector & Defender of their Religion*. Which is a declaration of the certain benevolence, & trust, that they have in his majesty: and altho his majesty knoweth what envy & danger followeth such title, yet nevertheles his highnes is so desirous to do them plesure, & to the glory of the gospel, his grace is content to accept the same honor, after that betwixt his & their orators agreement shalbe had upon the first & second articles. For it should not be sure nor honorable for his majesty, before they shalbe with his grace agreed upon a certain concord of

p. 163. doctrin, to take such a province upon his highnes. And forasmuch as his majesty desireth much, that his bishops & learned men might agree with theirs; but seeing that it cannot be, unles certain things in their confession, & apology, should, by their familiar conferences, be mitigate; his grace therfore would their orators, & some excellent learned men with them, should be sent hither to confer, talk, & common upon the same, according to the thirteenth article.

Now, that his highnes by the same answers sheweth unto them his good heart, trusting, that they would be of correspondence therunto, his majesty desireth three things of them, of no great cost, nor difficulty.

First, that in case any king, prince, or other should invade his majesty, or dominion for the same, or for the cause of the religion, that then they shal furnish him, at their expences, 500 horsemen, armed of al pieces, or ten ships, wel arayed for the war, to serve his majesty by the space of four whole months by land or by sea. And that it shalbe at his graces choice to have horsemen or ships. And that such as his grace shal chuse, shal be sent to him within a month after the requisition therof.

Second, that besides the same, they shal retain, at his majesties cost & charges, such number of horsemen & footmen, as his highnes shal require: so that the horsemen pas not the number of 2000, & the footmen the number of 5000. Or for the said footmen twelve ships in good order furnished with men, harness, ordinance, victuals, & other things necessary. And that the kings majesty may hire them, & retain at his wages, as long as it shal please his grace. And that it shalbe his majesties choise, to have the said twelve ships, or the said number of horsemen & footmen. And that such as his majesty shal chuse may be ready within two months after his requisition.

Third, that the said confederates woll take upon



them in al counceles hereafter, & every where else, to promote & defend the opinion of the reverend fathers, Dr. Martin, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Pomeran, & Melancthon, in the cause of his graces mariage.

## NUMBER LXVII.

*The councele to Secretary Crumwel; giving orders for the dispatching certain persons into Germany & France.*

MASTER Secretary, after our most hearty commendations, ye shal understand, that having received the letters sent unto you from Sir John Wallop, & shewed the same unto the kings majesty, his plesure therupon was, that we should dispatch these our letters incontinently unto you, concerning the accomplishment, & doing of these things ensueing.

First, his graces plesure is, that you shal immediatly, upon the receit hereof, dispatch Barnes in post, with Deryk in his company, into Germany; commanding him to use such diligence in his journey, that he may, & it be possible, meet with Melancthon before his arrival in France. And in case he shal so meet with him, not only dissuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the French king doth persecute those that wil not grant unto the Bishop of Romes usurped power & jurisdiction; using in this part al persuasions, reasons & means, that he can devise, to impeach & let his said journey thither; laying unto him how much it should be to his shame & reproch to vary & go now from that true opinion, wherin he hath so long continued: but also on the other side to persuade him also, that he may (be willing) to convert his said journey hither: shewing him as wel the conformity of his opinion & doctrine here, as the nobility & vertues of the kings majesty, with the good entertainment, which undoubtedly he shal have here at his graces hands.

Cleopatra,  
E.6.p.330.

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And if percase the said Barnes shal not meet with him before his arrival in France, then the said Barnes, proceeding himself further in his journey toward the princes of Germany, shal with al diligence return in post to the k. h. the said Diryk of the certainty of the said Melancthons coming into France, & such other occurrents, as he shal then know. And if the said Diryk be not now ready to go with him, the kings plesure is, ye shal in his sted appoint & send such one other with the said Barnes, as ye shal think meet for that purpose.

And when the said Barnes shal arrive with the said princes of Germany, the kings plesure is, he shal on his graces behalf, as wel persuade them to persist & continue in their former good opinion, concerning the denyal of the Bishop of Romes usurped authority, declaring their own honour, reputation & surety to depend thereon. And that they now may better maintain their said just opinion therein, than ever they might, having the k. m. one of the most noble & puissant princes of the world, of like opinion & judgment with them. Who, having proceded therein by great advise, deliberation, consultation & judgment of the most part of the great & famous clerks of Christendom, wil in no wise relent, vary or altre in that behalf; like as the said Barnes may declare & shew unto them by a book made by the dean of the chappel (Richard Sampson) & as many of the bishops sermons as ye have. Which book ye shal receive herewith; the copy wherof, & of the said sermons ye must deliver unto the said Barnes at his departure, for his better remembrance & instruction.

To whom also his graces plesure is, ye shal shew as much of Master Wallops letter (which we send you also) as ye shal se drawn & marked with a pen in the margin of the same. As also exhort & move them in any wise to beware, how they commit any of their affaires to the order, direction & determination of the Fr. king; considering he & his counsel

be altogether papist, & addict & bent to the maintenance & conservation of the Bishop of Romes pretended authority.

Furthermore, the kings plesure is, yee shal upon the receipt hereof, immediatly cause Mr. Haines & Christopher Mount, in post to repair into France to Sir John Wallop, in as secret maner as they can, & coming like his friends to visit him, & not as sent by the king. And in case they shal by him, or otherwise, learn & know, that Melancthon is there arrived, then his grace wol, that the said Haines & Mount shal, in such sort, as they be not much noted, resort unto him, & for the dissuading of his continuance there, or the alteration of his opinion, & the alluring of him hither; to use such reasons & persuasions as be before written, with such other as they can further devise for that purpose. To the which Haines & Mount, the kings plesure is, ye shal deliver like copies of the same deans book & the bishops sermons, to be shewed unto the said Melancthon, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for *thachyevement* of the kings purpose in that behalf.

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Ye shal also understand, that the kings plesure is, ye shal writ to Sir John Wallop, & send unto him therewith like copies: willing him, in case he shal have certain knowledg, that the articles be true written in these his letters concerning the Fr. kings sending into Germany for the continuance of the Bishop of Romes pretended supremacy, to repair with the said copy to the Fr. king: & not only to set the same forth with such reasons as he can devise in that part; shewing how much it shal be against his honor, both to give himself subject to the said bp., & to move others to do the semblable; but also to declare unto him, that the kings h. remembring his old friendly promises concerning the maintenance of his cause, & of his procedings touching the same, cannot think it a little strange that the said Fr. king (seeing his majesty hath in his doings, touching the said Bp. of Rome, moved neither his, nor any

princes subjects) wil move & stir the Germans to condescend upon a contrary opinion, both to himself & to his grace in this behalf. And that his majesty must needs think his amity much touched, in that he should move any state or country to do that thing, which is so much against the kings h. & his own promise; using al the wayes he can to dissuade him from that dishonourable obedience to the said bps. see; moving him to encline to the kings just opinion touching the same.

Finally, the kings plesure is, ye shal write another letter to the Bp. of Aberden, signifying that the kings m. taketh it very unkindly, that the king his nephew would now embrace, without his advise or counsel, being his neerest friend & unkle, & now in league & amity with him, the mariage of Monsr. de Vaudons daughter: wherunto he would give none ear at his graces overture heretofore made of the same. In your said letter imputing a great negligence therin to the said bp. & others of his masters counsel; seing their master sheweth not, in the doing therof, such amity towards the k. h. as the friendship betwixt them doth require.

And to make an end, his grace woll in no wise, that Barnes & Haynes shal tary for any further instruction of the Bp. of Canterbury, or any other, having his grace determined to send the same after by Mr. Almoner & Hethe: but that he, Mr. Haynes & Mount shal, with al possible diligence, depart immediatly in post without any longer tarying, than for this their depeche shal be necessary. So as their abode impeach not the kings purpose, touching the said Melancthon. And thus fare you most heartily wel, from Langley, in much hast, this Monday at 4 of the clock at afternoon.

Your loving friends,

T. NORFOLK.

GEORGE ROCHFORD.



## NUMBER LXVIII.

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*Secretary Crumwells letter to Sir John Wallop, the kings ambassador in France. Directing him in what maner to justify the king in the divorce, & in the execution of some persons denyng the supremacy.*

*To my right loving frynd, Sir John Wallop, Knyght, the kynges ambassadour resident in the corte of Fraunce.*

AFTER my most harty recommendations; these MSS. D.G.H.Eq.  
 shal be to advertise you, that the xvijth day of this monthe I receyvid from you a packet of letters; which indelayedly I delyvered unto the kinges highnes, & conferred with his grace theeffects both of your letters, & al others within the sayd packet, beyng directed as wel to his h. as to me. And after his h. had with me perused the hoole contents throughly of your sayd letters; perceyving not only the liklihod of the not repayr into Fraunce of Philip Melancthon, but also your communications had with the Frenche kings highnes, upon your demaund made of the kynges majesties pensions, with also your discrete answers & replications made in that behalfe, for the which his majestie givethe unto you condigne thanks: ye shal understand, that his h. commaunded me to make you answer in this wise following:

First, as touching the kings money, his h. doubtithe not, but seeing both the Frenche kyng, & also the great maister, have promysed you it shal be depeched, ye wil, as the case shal require, not cease to cal upon theym till it be depeched. And further consideryng, that the said Frenche kyng, upon your sayd demaunde of the sayd pensions, so sodaynlie fel into communication with you, as wel of his friendship & humanytie shewed to the k. h. alledgyng, that he at al tymes hath answered for the k. h. Specially beyng last at Marcellis with Pope Clement, with

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other thinges as in your sayd letters apperethe; as also concernyng the executions lately done here within this realme: the k. h. not a litle marvaylethe therat: & thinkethe it good, that as of your self ye take somme occasion, at convenient tyme & opportunitie, to renovate the sayd communycation, both with the Fr. kynge, or at the last with the great maister: sayeng unto theym, that wher the sayd Fr. kyng alledgethe that he hath at all tymes answered for the k. h. in his cause, specially to the sayd Pope Clement at Marcellys, affirmyng his procedynges to be just & upright concernyng the matrymonye, as ye do write, in that albeit the k. h. procedynges in al his affaires within this realme, beyng of suche equite & justnes of themselfe as they be, nedethe not any defence or assistance ayenst Pope Clement, or any other foreyne power, havyng Goddes wordes & lawes onely sufficient to defend hym: yet in that the sayd Fr. k. hathe (as he sayethe) answered at al tymes on the kynges part, he hath done nothyng but the part of a brother, in justefyeng & verefyenge the trewthe; & so contynuyng, shal do as apperteyneth to a prynce of honour: which the k. h. doubtithe not he hath, & wil do, only in respect to the verite & trewthe, besides the amytie betwixt theym both justlie requyryng the same.

And concernyng the executions done within this realme, ye shal say to the said Fr. k. that the same were not so marvelous extreme as he alledgethe; for touchyng Maister More & the Bushop of Rochester, with suche others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies & practises, secretly practised as wel within the realme as without, to move & stir dissension, & to sow sedition within the realme, intendyng therby not only the destruction of the kyng, but also the hole subversion of his highnes realme, beyng explained & declared, & so manifestly proved afore theym, that they could not avoyd nor denye it; & they therof opynly detected, & lawfully convicted, adjudged & condemned of high treason,

by the due order of the lawes of this realme: it shal, & may wel appere to al the world, that they havynge such malice roted in their hartes ayenst their prynce & soveraigne, & the total destruction of the common weale of this realme, were wel worthy, if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten tymes a more terrible dethe & execution then any of theym did suffer.

And touchynge suche words as the sayd Fr. k. spake unto you, concernyng how Maister More died, & what he saied to his doughter, goyng to his judgement, & also what exhortations he shulde give unto the kynges subjects, to be trew & obedient to his grace (assuryng you, that there was no such thyng) wherof the great maister promysed you a double at length: in that the kynges pleasure is, that ye shal not onlye procure the sayd double & send it hither, but also sey unto the sayd Fr. k. that the k. h. cannot otherwise take it, but veraye unkyndely, that the sayd Fr. k. or any of his counsayle, at whose hands he hath so moche merited, & to whom he hath mynystered so many great benefits, pleasures & commodities, shulde so lightly gyve ear, faith & credence to any suche vayne brutes & fleing tales; not havynge first knowledge or advertisement from the k. h. here, & his counsayl, of the verite & trewth: affirmyng it to be the office of a frende, heryng any such tales of so noble a prynce, rather to have compressed the bruters therof to silence, or at the leest not permytted theym to have divulged the same unto suche tyme as the k. m., beyng so dere a frend, had been advertised therof, & the trewth known, before he shuld so lightly beleve or alledge any such reaporthe. Which ingrate & unkynde demeanure of the sayd Fr. k. usid in this behalf, argueth playnlye not to remayne in his brest such integritie of harte & syncere amytye towards the k. h. & his procedyngs, as his h. alwayes heretofore hath expected & loked for. Which thyng ye may propone & alledge unto the sayd Fr. k. & the great maistre, or to one of

theym, with such modestie & sobrenes, as ye thynk they may perceyve, that the k. h. hath good & just cause in this part, sumwhat to take their light credence unkyndlie.

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And wheras the sayd Fr. k. sayethe, that touching such lawes, as the k. h. hath made, he wil not medle withal; alledgyng it not to be mete that one prynce shuld desire another to chaunge his lawes, saying, that his be to olde to be chaunged; to that ye shal saye, that suche lawes as the k. h. hath made here, be not made without substantial grounds by great & mature advise, counsayl & deliberation of the hoole policie of this realme; & are indede no new lawes, but of great antiquitie, & many yeres passed were made & executed, within this realme, as now they be renovate & renewed, in respect of the common weale of the same. And it is not a litle to his highnes marvayll, that the sayd Fr. k. ever wold counsail or advise hym, if yn case hereafter any such like offenders shulde happen to be yn this realme, that he shulde rather bannyshe theym, then in suche wise execute theym: & specially consideryng, that the sayd Fr. k. hymself, in commonyng with you at that tyme, not only confessed thextreme executions, & great bruyllie of late done in his realme, but also that he now entendethe to withdraw the same, & to revoke & cal home agayne such as be out of his realme. The k. h. therefore the more straungely taketh his sayd advise & counsayl; supposyng it to be neyther thoffice of a frend, nor of a brother; that he wolde determyn hymself to cal home into his realme agayne his subjects, beyng out of the same, for spekyng agaynst the Busshop of Romes usurped authorite, & counsayl the k. h. to banyshe his traitours into straunge parties; where they myght have good occasion, tyme, place & opportunte, to work their feats of treason & conspiracie, the better agaynst the k. h. & this his realme. In which part ye shal sumwhat engreve the matter after such sorte, as it may wel appere to the sayd Fr. k. that not only the



k. h. myght take those his counsayls & communications both straungely & vnkindly, thinkyng the same not to procede of mere amytie & frendship; but also usyng such polycie & austeritey, in proponyng the same with the sayd Fr. k. & the great maistre, takyng such tyme & opportunitie as may best serve for the same, as they may wel perceyve the k. h. procedyngs here within this realme, both concernyng the sayd executions, & al other thyngs, to be only grounded upon justice, & the equite of his lawes: which be no new lawes, but auncient lawes, made & established of many yeres passed within this realme, & now renovate & renewed, as is aforesaid, for the better order, weale & suretye of the same.

And ye may farther saye, that if the Fr. k. & his counsail wel consider, as they ought to do, that it were moche better to advaunce the punyshment of traytours & rebells for their offences, then to punish such as do speke ayenst the usurped auctoritie of the Bushop of Rome, who dayly goeth about to suppress & subdue kynges & prynces & their auctoritie, geven to them by Goddes word.

Al which matiers the kynges pleasure is, that ye shal take tyme & occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the Fr. k. or the great maister may declare your mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: addyng therunto such matier, with such reasons, after your accustomyd dexterite & discretion, as ye shal thynk most expedient, & to serve best for the kyngs purpose, defence of his procedyngs, & the proffe of the Fr. k's. ingratitude, shewyd in this behalf; not doubtyng yn your wisdom, good industrie & discreate circumspection, for thorderyng & wel handlyng of the same accordyngly.

And touchyng Melancthon, consideryng there is p. 169. no lykelihode of his repaire into Fraunce, as I have wel perceyved by your letters, the k. h. therfore hath appoynted Christofer Mount indelayedly to take his journey where Melancthon is, &, if he can, to prevent Mounsr. de Langye in such wise as the sayd

Melancthon his repaire into France may be stayed, & diverted into England. Not doubtyng but the same shal take effect accordyngly. And as to Maister Haynes, the kyngs pleasure is, that he shal go to Paris, there to lerne & dissiphre the opinyons of the lerned men, & their inclynations & affections, as wel towards the k. h. procedyngs, as to the Busshop of Rome his usurped power & aucthorite, after such sort as the kings sayd highnes hath now writen unto hym by his graces letters, addressed both unto hym & the sayd Christofer Mount: directyng theym what they shal do yn al thynges commytyd to theyr charge at this tyme; as I doubt not but they wil put therto theyr devoires for the accomplishment of the kynges pleasure, as apperteynethe.

And thus makyng an ende, prayeng you to use your discession yn the proponyng of the premysses to the Fr. k. & the great maister, or the one or both of theym: usyng the same as a medecyne, & after such sorte, that as nere as ye can it be not moche displeasantly taken: adverteysing the kinges h. from tyme to tyme of the successes therof, & of al other occurrants, as the case shal require: requiryng you farther, as ye shal have convenyent tyme, to procure answer of themperors ambassador resident with you, wherof the k. h. wold be advertised with as convenyent spede, as ye can: I shal for this tyme byd you most hartily farewel. At Thornebery the xxijth day of August.

Your assuryd freend,

THOMAS CRUMWELL,

## NUMBER LXIX.

### *The last Will & Testament of the Princess Katharine Dowager.*

Cott. Libr. IN the name of the Father, of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I KATHARINE, &c. sup-

ply & desire K. HENRY VIII. my good lord, that it may please him of his grace, & in aulmes, & for the service of God, to let me have the goods, which I do hold, as wel in gold & silver, as other things; and also, the same that is due to me in mony for the time past: to the intent that I may pay my debts, & recompence my servants for the good services they have don unto me. And the same I desire as effectuously, as I may, for the necessity wherin I am ready to dy, & to yield my soul unto God.

First, I supply, (i. e. *pray*) that my body be buried in a *convent* of *observant* friers. *Item*, That for my soul may be said 500 masses. *Item*, That some p. 170 personage go to our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage; & in going by the way, to deal XX nobles. *Item*, I appoint to Maistris Darel, XXl. for her mariage. *Item*, I ordain, that the collar of gold, which I brought out of Spain, be to my daughter. *Item*, I ordain to Mistress Blanch, Cl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mistress Margery, & Mr. Whyller, to each of them XLl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Mrs. Mary, my physicians wife, & to Mrs. Isabel, daughter to Mr. Marguerite, to each of them XLl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to my physician the years coming wages. *Item*, I ordain to Francisco Philipppo, al that I owe unto him; and beside that, XLl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to Master John, my apothecary, his wages for the year coming; and beside that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain that Mr. Whyller be paid of expences about the making of my gown; and beside that, XXl. sterling. *Item*, I give to Philip, to Anthony & to Bastian, to every of them XXl. sterling. *Item*, I ordain to the little maidens, Xl. to every of them. *Item*, I ordain that my goldsmith be paid of his wages for the year coming; and beside that, al that is due unto him. *Item*, I ordain, that my lavender be paid of that which is due unto her; and besides that of her wages for the year coming. *Item*, I ordain to Isabel of Vergas XXl. sterling.

*Item*, To my ghostly father his wages for the year coming.

*Item*, It may please the king, my good lord, to cause ornaments for the church to be made of my gownes, which he holdeth; for to serve the convent thereas I shal be buried. And the furs of the same I give to my daughter.

|                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Richard Molend.</i>  | <i>William Peter,</i> |
| <i>William Portman,</i> | <i>Tho. Lee,</i>      |
| <i>Thomas Powlet,</i>   | <i>Rafe Sadeler.</i>  |

These seem to be the Administrators appointed by the king for the execution of the lady dowagers will.

*Taunton, Downton, Hendon.*

These three places are set at the end of this will by another hand; which, perhaps, were the names of the lordships belonging to her.

## NUMBER LXX.

*Ryche, the kings solicitor, to the king : his advice concerning Katharine, princess dowagers goods & jewels.*

## IHUS.

Cott. Libr. PLEASITH your majesty to be advertised of my poor mind; which is not specified to your majesty by the other letter sent to your majesty by me, your graces humble solicitor, & your other two most humble servants. Because I thought it not convenient to make them privy therto: most humbly beseeching your highnes, to take my mind in good part: for I mean none other, but to declare to your majesty the truth; affirming to your highnes, that I shal be as ready to execute your graces commaundment, according to my most bounden duty, with as much good wil, heart & mind to my little power, as any living creature shall do.



Pleasith your majesty to consider, that the lady dowager was a *sole* woman; having by al lawes a ful authority & capacity to have propriety in goods & cattals: albeit her grace affirmed, that all was yours; & that she had nothing to give without your graces licence. Wherin her grace meant not wel; nor yet according to the truth. And she having such capacity as is aforesaid, your majesty may not seize her goods & cattals, unless there were other cause so to do, than I know. For by the laws of your realm, the bp. of the dioces in this case shal commit the administration of her graces goods to the next of her graces kindred, lawfully begotten, & being denizons; to the intent the debts should be paid, or otherwise disposed of for the wealth of her soul. But whether your majesty, being *supreme head* of the church of your realm, by your laws may commit the administration of the goods of her grace, dying intestate, I dare not therein speak precisely. The ful & determinate solution of that question I remit to your majesty, & to others of your graces council, to debate & determine. And therfore in this wise to take & seize her graces goods as your own, is repugnant to your laws; &, as I think, with your graces favour, rather enforceth her blind opinion while she lived, than otherwise.

But, sovereign lord, under your graces favour, I think you may have, take & seize the goods & cattals of her by another mean lawfully; which is this: if your graces pleasure be so, yec may cause a letter to be written to the Bp. of Lincoln; commanding him to grant the administration of al such goods & cattals as lately were the lady dowagers, to such as your highnes shal name. And then to have the goods of them to your graces use, in recompence of such sums & debts, as your highnes hath, or shal ley out for her burial, or otherwise. And this, as I think, were the best way, & concurrent with your graces laws.

Signifying unto your highnes, that now I have de-

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clared my bounden duty unto your grace, I shal willingly to the best of my power execute your commandment without fear or respect of any man: most humbly beseeching your majesty, to accept this my poor information according to my meaning; & to pardon me, if any thing or matter be comprized herein, contrary to your graces pleasure.

And that I may be certifyed of your further pleasure: advertising your majesty, as I think, the plate, or other things, comprized in the inventory sent to your majesty, wil amount to 5000 mark, & rather better. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your magnificence with as long life as ever lived man. From Kimbolton, this present xix day of January: by your graces

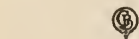
Most humble servant,

RYCHARD RYCHE.

END OF VOL. V.



## Date Due

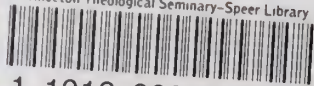
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